

They Fled Hitler's Germany and Found Refuge in North Carolina

Spring 1996

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Southern Research Report #8

They Fled Hitler's Germany and Found Refuge in North Carolina

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Henry A. Landsberger
Christoph E. Schweitzer

Photo Editor

Frances B. Schultzberg

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THEY FLED HITLER'S GERMANY AND FOUND REFUGE IN NORTH CAROLINA

Henry A. Landsberger and Christoph E. Schweitzer, Editors
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Preface	7
Introduction	
by Christoph E. Schweitzer and Henry A. Landsberger	9
America and North Carolina Respond	
by Henry A. Landsberger	11
Duke University Opens its Doors	
by William E. King	25
Ernst Moritz Manasse: A Black College Welcomes a Refugee	
by Christoph E. Schweitzer	41
Welcoming the New Arrivals to Chapel Hill	
by Edward M. Bernstein	51
Carolina Vignettes:	
Alfred T. Brauer, mathematician	
by Henry A. Landsberger	61
W. David Falk, philosopher	
by Jeanette L. Falk	69
Ernst Morwitz, German literature	
by Sidney R. Smith	75
Clemens Sommer, art historian	
by Joseph C. Sloane	83

The Arts:	
Justus Bier, Second Director, N.C. Museum of Art	
by Margret Kentgens-Craig	91
Edith London, painter	
by Henry A. Landsberger	105
Black Mountain College & its Cosmopolitan Faculty	
by Mary Emma Harris	115
Edward Danzinger - Papa D	
by James Shumaker	135
List of Contributors	141

Illustrations

Frank Porter Graham	13
William Few	26
William Stern	31
Fritz London	35
Ernst Moritz Manasse	42
Ernst Moritz Manasse	45
Ernst Moritz Manasse, in study, after retirement	47
Edward Bernstein	53
Edward Bernstein, with economics faculty	55
Edward Bernstein, with wife Edith	58
Alfred Brauer	62
David Falk, with students	70
Clemens Sommer, in faculty meeting	85
Clemens Sommer	88
Justus Bier	92
Edith London	107
Josef Albers	117
Anni Albers	118
Josef Albers	120
Josef Albers	123
Heinrich Jalowetz	125
Edward Danzinger	136
Mrs. Roosevelt at Danzinger's	137
Edward Danzinger, Papa D	139



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Preface

The fiftieth anniversaries of different World War II events have helped open the floodgates to memories by participants and sparked questions by members of younger generations. Most North Carolinians do not know that their state received war refugees or that many of these brought distinguished reputations with them and contributed significantly to their adopted home.

This issue of the *Southern Research Report* bears witness to this neglected chapter in North Carolina's World War II history. Drawn from an exhibition and conference funded in part by the North Carolina Humanities Council, *They Fled Hitler's Germany* is published with additional support from the Council and with significant funding from the German Academic Exchange Service. The Randleigh Foundation Trust supports the entire *Southern Research Report* series and the Center for the Study of the American South staff ably brought this issue to production, thanks to funding from the Office of the Provost and the William Rand Kenan Trust.

Introduction

by Christoph E. Schweitzer and Henry A. Landsberger

The idea for the essays in this volume goes back to a symposium held on March 18 and 19, 1994 under the auspices of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in connection with the University's Bicentennial Observance. Siegfried Mews, chair of the department at the time, and Christoph E. Schweitzer, a retired member of the department and one of the editors of this volume, organized a two-day symposium on "The German Presence in North Carolina: Past and Present". One of its panels, entitled "They left Hitler's Germany," was chaired by Henry A. Landsberger of the University's Department of Sociology, the other editor. Landsberger and Schweitzer soon agreed that the papers presented on the panel dealing with refugees from Nazi Germany, if expanded and supplemented by a further set of specially commissioned papers, should be preserved in print. They began to prepare a collection of essays with the title "They fled Hitler's Germany and Found Refuge in North Carolina" and were delighted when both the North Carolina Humanities Council and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) pledged their support for both a much enlarged symposium on the topic and the preparation and printing of the collection of papers resulting from it.

The symposium was sponsored by the Cultural Development Committee of the Durham/Chapel Hill Jewish Federation and was held on the evening of Sunday, April 23, 1995 at Judea Reform Synagogue in Durham, just a year after the original panel. An audience of well over one hundred persons of widely different backgrounds and affiliations attended the widely publicized event which began, an hour and a half before the symposium itself, with the opening of an impressive exhibit of photographs of the refugees featured in the various symposium papers. The exhibit was organized by Frances B. Schultzberg, an artist and experienced organizer of exhibitions, and a selection from her exhibit is included in this volume.

With this volume, we want to pay tribute not only to those who came here as refugees and had to rebuild their interrupted lives and careers in an environment, and a language, very different from that to which they had been accustomed. We want to pay tribute also to those many North Carolinians whose concern for these refugees and whose efforts on their behalf made it possible for them to settle here. In all probability, many more persons were helpful than those named in the various essays and even when the name and some detail of what these helpers did are known, there is often insufficient documentation to do them full justice. Nor do the refugees whose fate is described in this volume encompass all those who settled here. With the exception noted below, we decided to focus this volume primarily on those who had arrived here in the 1930s and 1940s and contributed to the academic and artistic life in the Chapel Hill, Durham and Raleigh area. However, given the importance of the presence of refugees from Nazi Germany at Black Mountain College, we asked Mary Emma Harris to contribute a paper on that aspect of the history of that famous college.

We wish to thank Bert Chessin, chair of the Cultural Development Committee of the Durham/Chapel Hill Jewish Federation for the support he gave the project from its initial stage to the printing of this volume. The contribution of the German Academic Exchange Service, University of North Carolina's Bicentennial Observance Committee and of the North Carolina Humanities Council, especially its program director, Dr. Harlan Gradin, made the preparation of the book and its printing possible. We are most grateful to David Moltke-Hansen for having accepted the collection as "Southern Research Report #8."

Henry A. Landsberger
Christoph E. Schweitzer

America and North Carolina Respond

by Henry A. Landsberger

I. Introduction

In the first months of 1995, we commemorated the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the extermination- and concentration camps in 1945: of Auschwitz-Birkenau in January of that year; of Buchenwald in March; then of Bergen-Belsen, Dachau, Ravensbrueck and others. But it was eleven years earlier, in 1934, that an event less tinged with sorrow took place, one symbolically similar to what we commemorate in this volume. For it was in 1934 that the “University in Exile” for displaced German scholars in the social sciences and humanities, later to become the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research was founded in New York City by the School’s then director, Alvin Johnson. Johnson, a legendary progressive at the university level and a friend of John Dewey’s, had a special interest in the more innovative trends in German academia toward which major figures on the academic scene in the United States had steadily looked ever since the end of the last century. Jews were heavily represented in these innovative, progressive trends: for example, among the neo-Marxists of the Frankfurt School of sociology and philosophy, as well as in socially-oriented psycho-analytic thinking. And just one year earlier, in May 1933, New York University’s Institute of Fine Arts had given a permanent faculty position to its first art historian, the distinguished Erwin Panofsky, already on leave there from the University of Hamburg. He was one of several who were to put art history and the analytical study of art on the academic map of the U.S. in a way, and on a scale on which that discipline had not existed here before.

All this had its parallel with our more miniature story here in North Carolina. Both down here, as in New York and elsewhere, the newly set-up “Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars” - later, in 1938, more broadly “in Aid of Displaced Foreign Scholars” - played a significant role in

FRANK PORTER GRAHAM educator and statesman

Frank Porter Graham was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina in 1886. He received both undergraduate and law degrees from the University of North Carolina and a master's degree from Columbia and continued his studies at the University of Chicago, the London School of Economics, and elsewhere. He became president of the University of North Carolina in 1930 and he continued in that position until 1949.

During the early years of his presidency, the Hitler regime in Germany instituted a wide ranging system of persecutions of Jews as well as any others they considered political or ideological enemies. These people were forced to flee Germany, seeking refuge elsewhere. Because Graham was always concerned with the needs of the poor and underprivileged, and was already committed to supporting racial justice, he became active in helping academics and other emigrés to resume their careers at the University, often cooperating with President William P. Few of Duke University.

President Graham was also active in national organizations advocating the admission of more refugees not only into the United States but also into Palestine, which was opposed by the British.

Through all these activities, Frank Porter Graham not only saved lives, but enriched the intellectual environment in North Carolina and the United States.

finding positions for refugee scholars and I shall have more to say about it later. The American Friends Service Committee was involved in rescuing academic refugees, and others, at the national level - and so was the small community of Quakers in Chapel Hill; as were a large number of organizations and indi-



Frank Porter Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, 1930-1949 [North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]

viduals rooted in the Jewish community again, both at the national level and in North Carolina. And as for the academic fields covered: in the fine arts, though the number of individuals involved was small both here and nationally, the impact of those who came to North Carolina - such as Clemens Sommer and Justus Bier - was as great in its own way as that of their colleagues elsewhere, as is apparent from the two essays in this volume devoted to them. Both nationally and in North Carolina, scholars in the humanities, the natural and the social sciences were of course more numerous than art historians, but many equally outstanding.

But this story of hope fulfilled must, of course, be set in its larger more tragic setting. Over 500,000 Jews lived in Germany in 1933 but fewer than half of that half million managed to emigrate before the Holocaust ended the lives of the remaining ones under the most horrifying conditions. And those who stayed behind and died were often relatives of those who were able to leave. That, too, is true of those who came to North Carolina.

We find this same contrast between a larger somber background, and the much more positive narrow subject on which I will focus here, when we shift our attention to those in the United States, and in North Carolina in particular, who helped these refugees to reestablish their lives. Those who helped and rescued - individuals such as Presidents Frank Porter Graham and William P. Few of the University of North Carolina and Duke respectively - and the institutions, committees and groups both at the national level and here - these, too, were small as compared with the indifference and outright hostility of others.

Thus we are faced with a set of numbers which can be, and which are, interpreted in two opposing ways. On the one hand, the United States was the haven for perhaps a third of all those who managed to get out of Germany — no country except Palestine (whose gates were essentially shut by 1939) came close. But then, the U.S. was by far the largest and wealthiest of the Western countries and from that point of view, it was only appropriate that it should have been in the forefront, possibly even more than it was. But the deep economic depression from which America and the rest of the world suffered in the 1930's was, of course, part of the explanation why America did not do more.

Yet at least as important was the ill-concealed, or not at all concealed, anti-semitic and more generally xenophobic hostility not only of parts of the general public, but specifically of many who occupied key positions in the U.S. consular service abroad, and of key officials in the State Department. It was on the basis of anti-semitism that they opposed opening America to those who were desperately trying to find refuge here. That has been described by many historians, above all by David Wyman¹. As might be expected, Jewish organizations and the outstanding individuals behind them were amongst the most dedicated rescuers, both publically and also behind the scenes, financing non-Jewish organizations such as the "Emergency Committee," which got the bulk of its funds from Jewish sources. A single Jewish foundation, the Rosenwald, awarded forty-seven fellowships, compared to the Emergency Committee's 277. But even here, the stance of many major Jewish organizations and of certain key leaders among them was by no means beyond reproach. Elie Wiesel's bitter introduction to Wyman's book makes that very clear.

This unimaginable tragedy had innumerable victims. Unfortunately, relative to the magnitude of the tragedy, the number of rescuers was small, and their power limited, whether we think of individuals or organizations. But it is to these rescuers and to those who came here to re-establish their disrupted lives, that we pay tribute in this volume.

Most of the forced emigrés who managed to find refuge in North Carolina and in the rest of the nation did so, however, less because organizations helped them but through the help of the scientific or artistic networks of which they were already a part precisely because, even though they were still at the beginning of their careers, they were individuals of evidently outstanding promise. Among these, discussed later in this volume, were Drs. Fritz London and Alfred Brauer. The importance of collegial networks based on personal reputation was widely recognized already then, and dealt with in the literature which in subsequent decades sought to capture how outstanding German and German-Jewish intellectuals were able to escape.

Nevertheless, the most important of these national organizations, the "Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Ger-

man Scholars" to which we have already briefly referred, was responsible for placing five refugee-scholars at Duke - Wilhelm Stern, an outstanding child psychologist, was one (William King describes this more fully) - and at least two at Chapel Hill, of whom Clemens Sommer, the art historian was one. The "Emergency Committee" was established in May 1933 in very quick response to Hitler's assault on Jewish academics and academic freedom in general². But it was really an off-shoot of the Institute of International Education and in particular, of Dr. Stephen Duggan's vision. With Alvin Johnson, he shared a view of scholarship as an increasingly international enterprise, and both believed that much could be learned from Germany in particular, not only in the substance of each discipline, but in the structure and demanding nature of that country's university programs. Thus, helping persecuted scholars was for them not only a humanitarian obligation, but was also a way of improving American higher education. Many of us in academic life today are well acquainted with the Institute because it has helped us and our own students to study abroad, and foreign students to study here. But the IIE has a history going back to the Russian Revolution of 1917, and by 1933 had funded over 600 refugee Russian students³. The Institute had since its inception, and again during this period, worked very closely with the Rockefeller Foundation which had given it both direct support, and made grants to American universities or to refugee scholars, as did the Carnegie Foundation, on a lesser scale.

The membership of the Emergency Committee included the presidents of just about every conceivable elite university and college, from Harvard to the California Institute of Technology; from the University of Minnesota to McGill in Montreal, from Vassar, Smith and Bryn Mawr to Oberlin. The only southern university was Vanderbilt: I shall describe below the role played by the University of North Carolina from the mid-1930's onwards. The individuals representing their institution on the Committee were equally legendary: Robert Hutchins of Chicago, Robert Sproull of Berkeley and Harold Dodds of Princeton among them, not to mention the founder of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Abraham Flexner. The Assistant Director of the Emergency Committee was Edward

R. Murrow who had come over from the Institute of International Education with Stephen Duggan (Duggan was the Director) and Murrow - referred to in correspondence with North Carolina's own Frank Porter Graham - was highly praised for his work. He left in 1935 to become the chief of CBS' European staff.

Jews were, of course, very prominently active both on the Emergency Committee, and in other parallel organizations dedicated to helping the immigration of academics, professionals and artists. The names were mainly those of what Yehuda Bauer called "the German Jewish aristocracy in the United States"⁴. There were the Warburgs, the Morgenthau, Lehmanns, Rosenmans, Arthur Hayes Sulzberger and many others. They were either on the Emergency Committee itself, or associated with it, as in the cases of Abraham and Bernard Flexner and Alfred Cohn. Sometimes they were active as official representatives of Jewish organizations; sometimes because they happened to be the presidents of scientific associations or of universities.

In Germany itself and in Europe more generally, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee - the famous "Joint" - represented the most comprehensive effort of American Jewry in helping persecuted Jews of all ages and statuses, at any time and in any place. As Bauer describes it, the "Joint" often had a difficult row to hoe, caught in the cross-currents of divisions both in the U.S. and Germany between Zionists of various orientations, local Jewish "nationalists." And it was, of course, limited by finances.

Even in the academic and artistic fields which concern us, the Emergency Committee was far from the only active group. There were special funds and organizations for physicians and for musicians. And apart from the American Friends Service Committee of the Society of Friends (the Quakers), there were special committees for Christian-German and for Catholic Refugees; the Federal Council of Churches of Christ had a committee, and there was a "Self-Help of German Refugees" themselves. All this resulted, in 1938, in the establishment of a National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany⁵.

Yet the picture was not without its more shadowy side which

must of course be viewed in the context of the times, especially the depression and its repercussions in America's universities: above all, the dismissal of many untenured young American scholars. Whatever the precise mixture of reasons, help from the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation was, from the beginning, confined to two clearly established classes: distinguished scholars of established reputation - the Einsteins and Panofskies - and, second, to brilliant younger scholars of proven ability: the kind typified by Dr. London. "Young men of [mere:HAL] promise on the other hand should be excluded," as the Director of Medical Sciences for the Rockefeller Foundation, Dr. Alan Gregg, stated in June 1933.⁶ And, as already mentioned, fears of stimulating anti-semitism, on the rise in the U.S. at this time of Father Coughlin, anti-alien nativism, the German Bund and the Ku Klux Klan, also acted as a restraint. Some of the many Jews involved in these organizations shared these fears as well. After all, elite eastern American universities themselves were only just beginning to discontinue the quota system limiting the percentage of American Jewish students. Some Jewish representatives did not want to imperil that trend by too great an infusion of refugees.

In some instances, of course, one cannot escape the feeling that the speculative fear of fanning anti-semitism which crops up in a good deal of the correspondence of the various aid organizations also hid some personal prejudices of the same kind. Unvarnished anti-semitism was perhaps most blatantly illustrated by the reaction of Laura Delano, the wife of Immigration Commissioner James Houghtelling and President Roosevelt's first cousin, when she argued against a bill to admit 20,000 Jewish children beyond the existing quota. "Twenty-thousand charming children would all too soon grow into 20,000 ugly adults."⁷ Interestingly enough, the cautious policy and the financial restrictions of the "Emergency Committee" and some of its backers was the subject of considerable criticism from parallel British academic organizations.⁸

In contrast with efforts at the national level, in North Carolina, it was on the whole individuals, not organizations and committees who were decisive in finding places for academic refugees. President Frank Porter Graham, "Dr. Frank," President

of the University of North Carolina since 1930, played many, many roles besides that of academic head of the University. (William King will describe the part played by President Few of Duke, including examples where the two presidents co-operated.) President Graham is known for his courageous advocacy of an astonishing range of liberal positions, nationally as well as locally. No sooner had he assumed the presidency of the University at Chapel Hill in 1930, than he rose to the defence of the lone one or two socialists then on its faculty. He defended striking North Carolina textile workers and he defended the right of British philosopher Bertrand Russell to voice his then-startling views on sex and marriage, and to do so on the campus. He was involved in establishing both the social security and the unemployment insurance programs and a variety of other New Deal programs at the national level; he fought - in vain, of course - against the increasing involvement of American universities in a form of athletics which went far beyond what athletics for students should be. He chaired, at the request of President Roosevelt and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, the wide-ranging "Advisory Committee on Economic Conditions in the South" which, somewhat strangely, did not address the region's racial problem. But he was, in all other instances - and they were widely known and caused a continuous series of uproars - a most stalwart and explicit advocate of racial equality: perhaps the single most courageous position to adopt at that time⁹.

From the point of view of my interests here, in which Jews are so much at the center of the story, a major incident in 1934 involving the Medical School, probably not now widely known is a suitable starting point for a presentation of President Graham's views, actions, and personal style with respect to Jews. He was alerted, by a Jewish applicant who had been refused admission, to the fact that the School had a ten percent quota on the admission of Jews. The reason given was the difficulty in placing Jews for their last two years of training: the Medical School at that time offered only the first two years of training and students had to be admitted elsewhere for their final two years. President Graham spoke with Dr. Isaac Manning, by then for twenty-eight years the highly respected Dean of the School,

and attempted to persuade him to drop the quota system. Manning refused. Graham overruled him as a matter of principle, as he had warned him he would, and Dean Manning resigned - as he in turn had warned President Graham that he would. This caused a storm of protest from physicians all over the state to which, as usual, Frank Porter Graham responded with great courtesy, calmly explaining his position.

He wrote a fine laudatory statement for the opening of the Hillel Foundation in 1937, and he supported the anti-Nazi activities of the Durham League for Peace and Democracy. But he did refuse - "because of so many other commitments" - to write a chapter requested by one Mr. Simon Krinsky, the Principal of Adas Kodesh Hebrew School of Wilmington, Delaware, for a book he hoped to edit and publish entitled "Intellectual Condemnation of anti-Semitism." Who can blame him? I mention it only to indicate how widely he was recognized outside the state and outside university circles as a supporter of any and all good causes.

President Graham was, of course, involved in the placement on the faculty of the University of various refugee scholars including Professor Sommer and several others, as well as approving financial support for an invitation to the painter Josef Albers, to visit and exhibit his work at the university in 1941.

In addition to his role in facilitating the settlement of refugee scholars here Graham increasingly involved himself with aid organizations and with protest declarations at the national level. In 1937, he wrote reassuringly to the wife of Rabbi Stephen Wise (Rabbi Wise was a major figure in American Jewry in the 1930's and beyond) who had approached him in her role as head of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress to urge that the University of North Carolina join other American universities in boycotting the bi-centenary celebrations of the University of Göttingen, a request to which he, of course, acceded. He was a member of an ad hoc committee of various associations of universities set up by the Emergency Committee, the Rockefeller Foundation and others. In January 1939 the ad hoc committee issued a statement which both reassured academia that it was not encouraging that refugees be given any kind of special preference for regular appointment not warranted

by merit, but that it did want to facilitate offering temporary positions for such scholars by assuring that outside funds were available for that purpose¹⁰. He was a co-signatory of that carefully balanced document with other outstanding university presidents of the day. He signed the growing number of statements which condemned anti-semitism not only in Germany, but which drew attention to racial and religious intolerance of all kinds in the U.S. as well. Again, this broadening of the expressed concern to include intolerance in the United States itself was deemed not only objectively appropriate, but also politically prudent: it would make more vivid the European situation to those who might otherwise be concerned with the issues in this country. And finally, he joined a distinguished group of others, including Rabbi Stephen Wise, in protesting the threat, and later the reality, of Britain's restriction of Jewish immigration to Palestine. He was, indeed, a champion of the persecuted and oppressed, and the full story of his wide-ranging activities in opposition both to anti-semitism here and the persecution of Jews in Germany should be highlighted more than it has been. At least two more persons who acted as "welcomers" at the time should be mentioned. One is Edward Bernstein, a professor of economics in the School of Business Administration at the time, who has contributed his own recollections to this volume. The other is Dudley Dewitt Carroll who was the Dean of that School during those years, and a very active Quaker (he died in 1971). In several instances, the two cooperated in helping refugees settle here: for example, the Danzigers, whose story is told at the end of this volume. About Dean Carroll's activities we unfortunately know rather little. But we do have one anecdote. As reported in a memorial to him in the Chapel Hill Weekly in 1971, "Pete" Ivey, as he was known quoted him as having said, in Washington in 1938 when advocating a more liberal "open door" policy for Jewish refugees:

As a Southerner I feel the South has suffered because it has not been in the tide of immigration. Fine immigrants from Europe have avoided the South because of industrial and racial problems and this has caused a stagnation in the South's economy. An infusion of new blood would be one of the greatest blessings for the South.

That is a courageous thought to express publically, and one showing rare humility.

Many more refugees came to North Carolina than those mentioned in this essay, and many more North Carolinians with generosity and kindness were involved in helping these refugees from Nazi Germany settle here. Other essays in this volume refer to at least some additional members of both groups. Here I have called attention only to the most prominent among those who arranged appointments at the state's major institutions. It is an impressive list of kindnesses done, and usually, though not invariably, with a happy ending. As is only to be expected, adjustment after youth - and even during youth - to a totally different culture is so difficult, especially when accompanied by the trauma of being a refugee, that some who had to submit to these forced changes were wounded further by them, and did not integrate well.

But by and large, this is a story in which the positive predominates assuredly not only because of the religious - the different religious - commitments of those who did the welcoming, but also because the special hospitality of the South under these particular circumstances contributed its own special share.

NOTES

1. David Wyman, *Abandonment of the Jews: America and the Holocaust 1941-1945*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984.
2. Stephen Duggan and Betty Drury, *The Rescue of Science and Learning*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1948, p.7 and p.173ff.
3. Duggan and Drury, *op.cit.*, p.8
4. Yehuda Bauer, *My Brother's Keeper*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1974, p. 107.
5. Duggan and Drury, *op.cit.* p.94.
6. Cited by Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb, *From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges*, Melbourne, Florida: Krieger Publishing Company, 1993, p. 17, based on correspondence between the Rockefeller Foundation with the Emergency Committee at the Rockefeller Archives Center at Pocantico Hills, North Tarrytown, New York.

7. Edgcomb, p. 19 citing Robert Breitman and Alan M. Kraut, *American Refugee Policy and European Jewry, 1933-1945*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, pp.87-88.
8. *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigres, 1933- 1945*; Vol. II; Part 1, A-K, p.LXXV.
9. Most of this material is taken from Warren Ashby's *Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal*, Winston-Salem N.C. John F. Blair Publisher, 1980.
10. Duggan and Drury, *op.cit.*, pp. 98 - 101.

Duke University Opens its Doors

by William E. King

The volume in the records of President William P. Few is marked "Strictly Confidential." It is dated 1936 and titled *List of Displaced German Scholars*. In content, it consists of more than 1,600 of the briefest of biographical sketches of academic victims of political persecution in Germany. Specifically the purpose of the compilation was to assist in finding employment for "Jewish scholars; scholars with Jewish antecedents or those connected with Jews by marriage; and non-Jewish scholars whose convictions made them unacceptable to the German Government."

Arranged by academic discipline, one can easily identify 102 psychologists, 104 sociologists or 197 theologians. The list seems to go on and on including the now familiar names of Einstein, Lewin, Barth and Tillich. Each listing represents the uprooting of family and the interruption of teaching and research. Both men and women and established and promising scholars are included.

At least five individuals employed by Duke University are listed in the volume. That Duke would employ so many emigrés is perhaps surprising. Despite obvious academic advantages and humanitarian appeal, the employment of European emigrés was sometimes controversial and difficult to implement. The organizers of the placement services were concerned about anti-Semitism. Religious prejudice, however, was often less a problem than anti-foreign attitudes which were most often rooted in the hard economic reality of the times. The 1930s were the time of the Great Depression and as salaries were cut and research funds lost, native-born academicians sometimes resented limited funds going to foreign refugees. Prestigious Harvard University was conspicuously slow to join the effort to add German emigrés to its faculty. The South, as a region, was the slowest area to offer assistance. The eleven states of the old



William P. Few [Duke University Archives]

WILLIAM P. FEW President

During the years when scholars across Europe were under the threat of the rising Hitler regime, Duke University's President, William P. Few, was contacted and quickly responded to an appeal from the New York based Emergency Committee of Displaced German Scholars. This led to the employment of six scholars who were encouraged to settle in North Carolina and became part of the faculty at Duke University.

Confederacy were still so poor that President Franklin D. Roosevelt labeled the region as the nation's number one economic problem. The rebirth or second era of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s and 1930s fed off poverty, and cultivated anti-foreign and anti-Semitic attitudes. The South's mixture of widely dispersed state supported universities and teachers' colleges and numerous independent private colleges and universities did not lend itself to quick participation in a national effort of any kind. When the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars organized in 1933, it named only one southerner, Chancellor James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt University, to its twenty-two member general committee of support. The final report of the Emergency Committee in 1945 lists the successful placement of 613 scholars. A partial listing by state reflects the relative emphasis of the efforts of the Committee: 111 in New York state, 27 each in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, 26 in Illinois, 10 in Maryland, 7 in North Carolina, 4 in Tennessee and Virginia, and 1 in Louisiana.

The experience of employing German scholars at Duke University stands out among other institutions in the region. When the assistant secretary of the Emergency Committee, Edward R. Murrow, sent a mass appeal to college and university presidents on November 2, 1933, President William P. Few replied the next day: "I should be very glad to have . . . a list of available men for consideration." By November 27, Few sub-

mitted seven names in order of preference for scholars in psychology, zoology, history, chemistry or physics, law, language and sociology.

Obviously desiring to quickly assist German scholars in such perilous times, President Few also seized the opportunity to help build the faculty for the relatively new Duke University. Founded in 1838 as Union Institute in Randolph County, the institution became Trinity College before relocating to Durham in 1892 through the primary support of tobacco entrepreneur, Washington Duke. Duke's son, James B. Duke, a business genius with spectacular success in both tobacco and electric power, greatly expanded the family's commitment to serving the region in 1924 with the creation of the Duke Endowment, a philanthropic organization empowered to aid hospitals, orphanages, and selected institutions of higher education in the two Carolinas and the rural Methodist Church in North Carolina. James B. Duke's generosity permitted the expansion of Trinity College into a university and, with an additional gift for constructing a new campus, President Few persuaded Duke to permit the expanded, reorganized institution to be named Duke University. Within six years the school was transformed by the construction of two new campuses. A Georgian style campus became the undergraduate college for women, and a Gothic style campus became the site of the expansion of an undergraduate school for men, an engineering school, law school, and graduate school, as well as the site for the addition of new schools in religion, medicine, nursing and forestry. During the decade of the 1930s undergraduate enrollment increased 50 per cent, graduate enrollment 87 per cent, and faculty 34 per cent. The institution profited enormously by the unparalleled opportunity presented by James B. Duke's largesse at a time of economic depression. Despite such overwhelming generosity, however, President Few, early on and alone, concluded that perhaps the school had expanded too rapidly.

The opportunity presented by the Emergency Committee offered decided advantages and fortuitously fit Few and the university's needs. Distinguished scholars were available to help in the staffing of new or expanded academic programs. And they were available at no expense for the New York committee

and the Rockefeller Foundation shared in paying all of the emigrés' salaries. Initially no long-term commitment was required of the employing institution. As events worsened in Europe and the small number academic refugees swelled dramatically, the Emergency Committee enacted a more restrictive policy. Financial assistance came to be granted for a limited term of three years and then only if the employing institution guaranteed the emigré scholar a permanent position or tenure. This change in policy scarcely gave Few pause because he favored established scholars to bring prestige to the growing graduate and professional schools and he still had time to plan for assuming their total expense.

It is not surprising that Few's first choice for Duke in his initial list for the Emergency Committee was the renowned psychologist William Stern. The Duke psychology department was unusually strong with its chairman William McDougall, a native of England who came to Duke by way of Cambridge, Oxford and Harvard, generally acknowledged as one of the top ten psychologists in the world. It is clear that McDougall wanted his German contemporary, Stern, to join a department that consisted of a Swede, Helge Lundholm, and two Harvard and Berlin trained Americans, Karl Zener and Don Adams.

Murrow replied immediately to Few's request saying that Stern had not yet been placed, that he could be reached in Amsterdam, Holland, and that the employing institution had to initiate contact with the prospective faculty member. Upon confirmation that the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation would share Stern's salary of \$6,000, Few promptly wrote Stern. McDougall wrote two letters of welcome sending one to Holland and one to the New York office of the placement committee in case Stern was already en route.

A confidential addition to the letter from the Emergency Committee to Few described the scholar joining the psychology department. "Stern is," it read, "about 62 years of age, alert, almost boyish in his manner and enthusiasm. His wife is charming and gracious, a woman who has in her own right a first class reputation as a psychologist. They understand English and speak it well enough for conversational purposes, but unfortunately

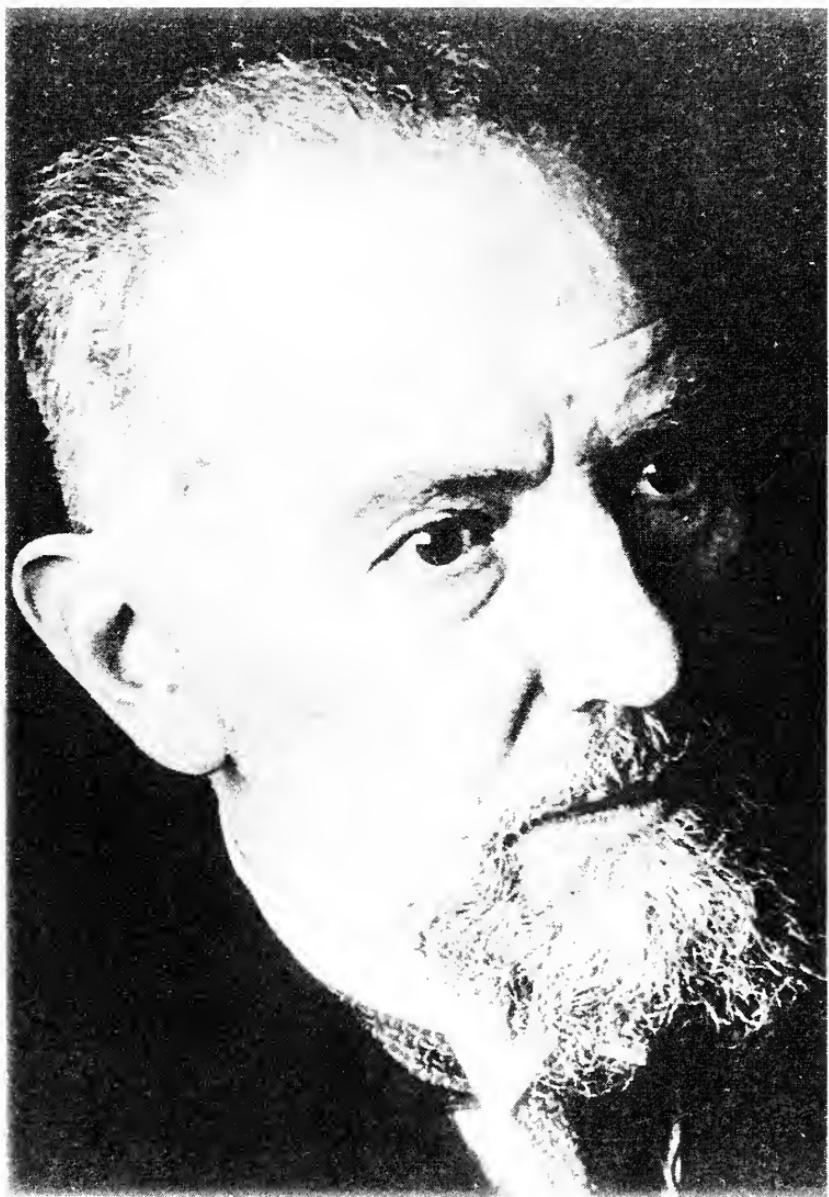
William Stern psychologist

William Stern became a professor of psychology at Duke University after emigrating to the United States in 1934.

Born in Berlin, he was awarded his doctorate in psychology by the University of Berlin in 1893. He had a distinguished teaching career at various universities and his contributions to the field of child and personality psychology were recognized by various American universities long before he came to Duke University in 1935 where he taught for only three years before his death in 1938.

He is the founder of personalistic psychology, which is based on the assumption that a person is a blend of physical, mental, hereditary, and environmental influences, from which he formulated the theory of convergence.

Stern is quite certain that he will lack freedom of intellectual formulation in the English language and must therefore be allowed to lecture in German." The description fit the Sterns perfectly. The couple brought a European gentility to the campus and community that was greatly appreciated, especially by graduate students who were entertained in their house with cakes and ale. One student remembers Stern as enjoying listening to records, especially Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, because he had sung the choral portion. Stern's expertise in child psychology complemented the Duke department well. Since he taught in German his courses were small, usually averaging fewer than ten graduate students. Often he explained devices he had developed, such as a puzzle box for testing children or a series of pictures of cloud shapes designed to elicit spontaneous remarks from children. Few once reported that at the end of a public lecture Stern received a great ovation including the presentation of flowers. Everyone was pleased, and Stern's employment was renewed annually. But tragically in April, 1938, Stern died



William Stern [Duke University Archives]

suddenly one Sunday morning. Few reported that the whole community had become attached to Stern and was deeply distressed. Funeral rites, conducted by Rabbi Bernard Zigler of Chapel Hill and Professor Alban Widgery of the Duke philosophy department, were held in the Duke chapel.

Walter Kempner arrived in the Duke Medical Center in 1934 through the personal assistance of Frederic M. Hanes, Chairman of the Department of Medicine. Kempner was the son of medical doctors and his mother, whose specialty was bacteriology, is credited as being the first female professor in Prussia. Thirty-one years of age upon his arrival at Duke, Kempner had earned his medical degree at the University of Heidelberg before being associated with the University of Berlin's medical clinic. As associate in medicine and physiology, his research eventually established the reversibility of major disease processes through dietary control. The public knows Kempner as the originator of the "rice diet" which established Durham's reputation as a diet center. Dr. Kempner is still in 1995, living in Durham.

Herbert von Beckerath arrived in 1935 to assume the unique position of a joint appointment at Duke and the University of North Carolina. Initial contact with von Beckerath was made by Howard Odum, Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at UNC. The correspondence of President Frank Porter Graham of UNC, reveals that Odum forwarded him outstanding recommendations for von Beckerath, noted a favorable personal impression from published articles and a personal interview, and explained that despite von Beckerath's background in jurisprudence, economics and political science, Odum believed the best students in sociology would profit considerably from his courses in broad-based theory as it is our desire "to get away from narrow disciplinary lines." Apparently financial constraints intruded in the hiring process for at the last moment when the Rockefeller Foundation agreed to support one-half of his salary, Duke was invited to share one quarter along with Carolina. In 1938 von Beckerath became permanently associated with Duke where he taught graduate level courses in economics and political science until he retired in 1955.

When he arrived, Herbert von Beckerath was forty-nine years old and an acknowledged authority on money market theory and industrial policy and organization. Protestant in religion, and educated at the universities of Freiburg, Berlin and Bonn, he took leave from the University of Bonn in protest to growing Nazi authority. It was a leave a colleague said was for the right reasons and one von Beckerath "would be glad to extend." He had traveled widely, spoke several languages fluently, and had published in German and English. Durham colleagues described him as upper class, urbane, quiet, and an excellent conversationalist although he avoided politics in discussion. He had an aristocratic background, being from one of the oldest, most successful Rhineland families which had been quite wealthy before losing everything during World War I and its aftermath. Von Beckerath came to North Carolina by way of a one-year appointment at Bowdoin College in Maine. He married Guelda Elliott of Chapel Hill in 1937. After her death in 1966 he began a journey to return to his homeland. Sadly he died en route in his sleep in a hotel room in Washington, D. C.

Staffing the Physics department proved troublesome to President Few in the transition from college to university. Oftentimes he built successful programs around a "star" appointment like William McDougall in Psychology, Charles Ellwood in Sociology and even Wallace Wade in football. Several attempts to lure "stars" in physics failed until the Emergency Committee assisted in the employment of Hertha Sponer in 1936. Then forty-one years old, she was acknowledged as one of the two most outstanding women physicists in the world. A specialist in molecular spectroscopy she had just published an acclaimed two-volume work, *Molecular Spectra and their Application to Chemical Problems*. Highly respected and non-Jewish, she nevertheless wondered about her career given the common belief that Nazi authorities frowned upon women in academic posts. A student believed she left Germany out of sympathy for persecuted academicians and in fear of another war. She came to Duke by way of the University of Oslo. In welcoming a woman Few ignored the advice of Robert A. Millikin of the California Institute of Technology that he would get more for his money if he picked a younger man rather than any woman.

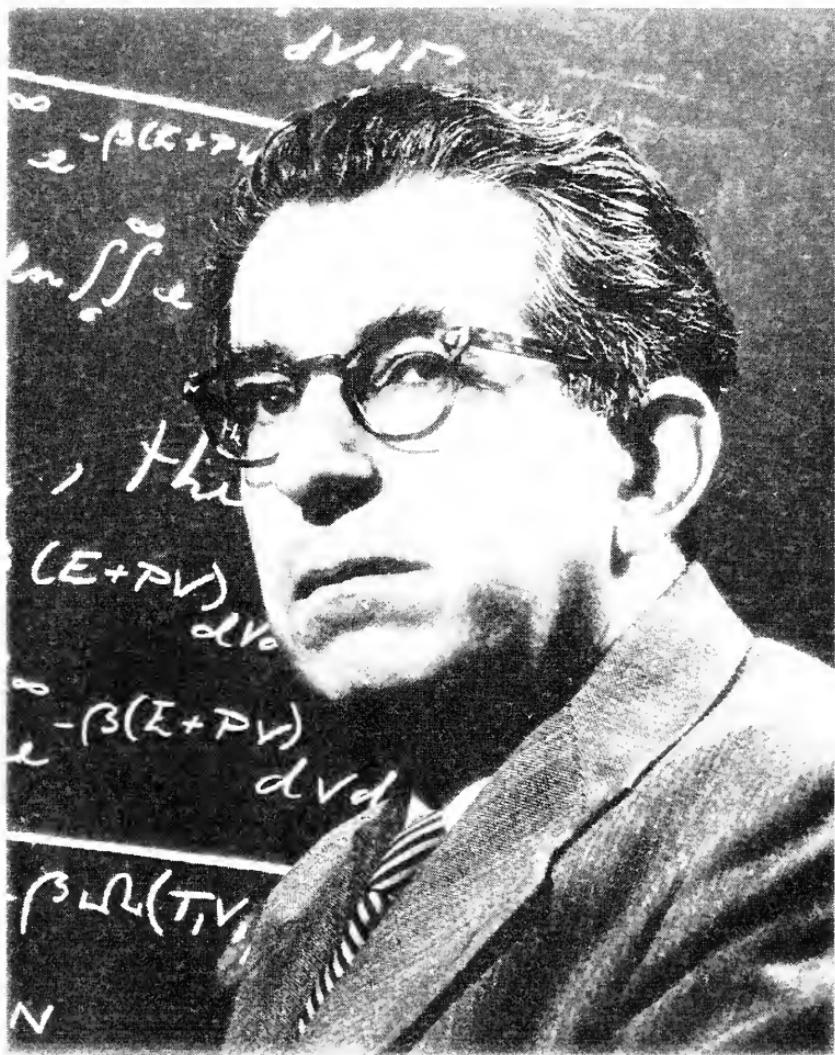
FRITZ LONDON scientist

One of the emigrés who was welcomed to join the faculty of Duke University in 1938 was Fritz London.

Considered one of the most distinguished and creative faculty members, London's accomplishments were in the fields of theoretical chemistry and physics. His most famous contributions were to the areas of quantum chemistry and the phenomena associated with extremely low temperatures, superconductivity, and superfluidity, and he was considered a leading candidate for the Nobel Prize.

Before his untimely death in 1954, London was honored with the prestigious Lorentz Medal, awarded by the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences in 1953. An annual lecture series in his name at Duke University was endowed by John Bardeen, two time Nobel Prize winner in physics at the University of Illinois.

If per chance Few thought he was employing someone who would interact mainly with women undergraduates, he soon discovered otherwise. Spöner was a very serious scientist focused on research, publication, and professional lectures and meetings. Initially her highly specialized upper level courses averaged only four students. In 1946 at age fifty-one she married her former teacher in Germany, James Franck. Franck, a Nobel Prize laureate in physics, had emigrated to the United States in 1935. Although Franck never taught at Duke and commuted between Chicago and Durham for awhile, they were a delightful couple to have in the academic community. She also attracted attention locally by raising world champion Doberman Pinschers. Noting how well cared for her dogs were, she once commented that she wished to be her own dog in reincarnation. James Franck died in 1965. Hertha Spöner-Franck re-



Fritz London [Duke University Archives]

tired in 1965 and died in 1968 in Germany, where she had gone to live with relatives.

In April, 1937, Few wrote the Emergency Committee seeking help in securing a theoretical physicist. The committee notified him that Lothar Wolfgang Nordheim was a visiting professor at Purdue University on temporary assignment and that he could switch to Duke if he received a permanent position. Nordheim transferred to Duke for the academic year 1937-38 with some confusion over a permanent position and whether his first year at Purdue counted as part of a three year appointment of shared salary. Not wishing to alienate the Emergency Committee, Few ended the negotiations with a clearly stated appreciation for the Emergency Committee's cooperation in "the protection of scientists and scholars and the protection of science and learning." He commented that he believed Nordheim to be an excellent man who would make a significant contribution in his field.

Born in Munich in 1899, the son of a Jewish medical doctor, Nordheim served briefly in World War I before studying at the universities of Hamburg, Munich, and Göttingen. His research was in quantum mechanics, particularly electron emission and conductivity in metals. When he was dismissed from his German university position in 1933, James Franck helped him obtain temporary positions in France and the Netherlands.

In an interview with a student reporter at Duke, Nordheim commented that World War I was thought of as a chemist's war while World War II was a physicist's war. He did his part in the Allied war effort by joining the top secret Manhattan Project in Chicago before becoming director of the physics division of the Oak Ridge laboratories. A man of administrative ability, he frequently alternated between the Duke campus and laboratories at Oak Ridge and Los Alamos, New Mexico, during and after World War II. In 1956 he joined the General Atomic Division of General Dynamics Corporation in San Diego, California.

Nordheim's wife, Gertrude, was also a Ph. D. in physics. Although she did not teach at Duke she was popular among graduate students by helping them with experiments. She died tragically in a bicycle accident in 1949 during a post war visit to

her hometown in Germany. Lothar Nordheim's sister came to live with him and helped to raise his son. While a dedicated scientist-administrator, Nordheim did not avoid debate on the need for information versus secrecy during the Cold War or on the developing rôle of atomic energy in the post-war world. He participated in Duke-UNC colloquia, campus forums, statewide speaking tours and Unitarian discussion groups. He also did not hesitate to sign public policy releases by the scientific community from time to time.

In 1938 the last of the German émigrés who spent the remainder of their lives at Duke arrived in Durham. In Fritz London, Duke found the long sought "star" in science, and in reality perhaps one of the brightest stars in the history of the faculty of the university. A modest autobiographical statement in the news bureau clipping file begins as follows: "I was born the 7th of March 1900 in Breslau as a son of Franz London, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Breslau and graduated (Dr. phil.) summa cum laude in 1921 at the University of Munich. I served at the University of Stuttgart and Berlin in the departments of theoretical Physics. . . . I held a Rockefeller Fellowship with Prof. Schroedinger in Zurich 1927 and with Prof. Fermi in Rome 1931. In the summer 1933 I lost my position at the University of Berlin in consequence of the laws which exclude persons of Jewish origin from state appointments."

Fritz London was in Paris when Paul M. Gross, Chairman of the Department of Chemistry at Duke, approached him about coming to Durham. He was not employed with any assistance of the Emergency Committee. Reluctant to leave Europe, he came first as a visiting professor before accepting a permanent position. Describing Fritz London's work and contributions is difficult, and often one finds the simple statement "he thinks for a living" quoted by journalists. Known for theories in chemistry and physics, London was a pioneer in modern quantum chemistry, in understanding atomic and molecular structures, and in super conductivity in low temperature physics. As an academician he was absorbed in his work, intense, precise, and an intuitive thinker who usually arrived at a solution first and then worked at proving it. Colleagues remember asking him if he had had a good vacation and getting the reply, "I had a great

vacation. I got some good ideas." He worked alone with limited association with graduate students or colleagues. Yet upon the discovery of a solution to a problem a friend said he changed to where sharing the joy of his discovery took over and his enthusiasm became contagious. Personally he was considerate with a delightful sense of humor, and he was an excellent conversationalist. He had close friends at Duke, UNC, and in Durham with whom he enjoyed music and family. His wife Edith, an accomplished artist, and their two children broadened his circle of friends. Fritz London died prematurely at age 54 in 1954.

Today one hears on campus that had London lived he would have won the Nobel Prize for physics. Some may question whether that is institutional pride, but London's receipt of the prestigious Lorentz Medal for scientific achievement, awarded by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science, validates his being in the tradition of Nobel prize winners. Perhaps a biography by Professor Gavroglu which was published by Cambridge University Press in 1995 will add more to that aspect of London's life. London is remembered at Duke today with a seminar room named after him and through an award and lecture. The Fritz London Memorial Lecture, begun through joint efforts of the Sigma Xi chapters at Duke and UNC, has brought seventeen Nobel laureates to the Triangle area since Lothar Nordheim gave the first lecture in 1956. In 1973, John Bardeen, a two-time Nobel Prize winner, established an endowment to underwrite the lecture series and initiate a Fritz London Award in low temperature physics. Bardeen acknowledged that his second award, which was for work in superconductivity, was inspired by London's pioneering in the field a generation earlier.

Altogether, then, in the 1930s Duke employed six émigré scholars, four through the assistance of the Emergency Committee. One other, Raphael Lemkin, taught briefly in the Law School in the early 1940s. A Polish-born lawyer, Lemkin was responsible for the United Nations' outlawing of genocide, a term he introduced and defined as meaning "the purposeful destruction of nations, races or groups."

One must be thankful that Duke acted so quickly to em-

ploy so many displaced scholars. It is instructive to identify them and note the contributions they and their families made to the university, community, and world of scholarship. Yet it is impossible to understand the very personal experience of having to leave one's homeland under such trying circumstances. A final illustration of another émigré who frequently visited the Duke campus perhaps helps convey the sense of loss and beginning anew experienced by the displaced scholars. The theologian, Paul Tillich, first visited Duke when the Sarah P. Duke Gardens were taking on their present shape in the late 1930s. He was taken to see them as was common for any visitor of the time. But he strongly identified with the Gardens being himself uprooted and planted in a new land and culture. Every time he returned to Duke through the years he asked to have time to revisit the gardens — visits, reported by Tommy Langford, former Dean of the Divinity School and University Provost, that seemed to be an almost mystical experience. Tillich seemed to be lost in thought remembering his past and identifying with the growth and maturing of the landscape as it changed through the years. One almost felt like an intruder accompanying him on his visits, says Langford. Today one has somewhat that same sense of intruding in the lives of the émigré scholars in recounting their forced journey to live among us. But it is a significant story worthy of being part of the historical record nevertheless.

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Memorandum

To: Henry A. Landsberger
From: William E. King
Date: November 21, 1995
Subject: Bibliographic Citations for article on Duke German Émigrés

Primary Sources

Duke University Archives: Records of the President, William Preston Few (1910-1940) and Robert Lee Flowers (1941-1948); Records of the Vice President in the Educational Division and Dean, William Hane Wannamaker (1917-1949); Faculty Census Forms (1932+); Office of Public Relations, News Service Biographical and Subject Clipping Files (1930+); Office of Alumni Affairs, Duke Alumni Register (monthly publication).

Interviews in person and by telephone with Duke University administrators, faculty and contemporary graduate students: Clarence Gohdes, Marcus E. Hobbs, Thomas A. Langford, Harold W. Lewis, Harold G. McCurdy, and Harold P. Stephenson.

Secondary Sources

Duggan, Stephan and Drury, Betty, THE RESCUE OF SCIENCE AND LEARNING (McMillian, 1948).

Sperber, Ann M., MURROW: HIS LIFE AND TIMES (Freundlich Books, 1986).

I also referred to some standard biographical works like the Dictionary of Jewish Biography and the International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Émigrés but I don't have the correct citations at the moment. I would assume that they do not need to be noted unless you want them listed as a resource somewhere in the publication.

Place the primary and secondary citations either in a separate listing at the conclusion or in an early footnote as you wish or give me a call and let me know which location you prefer and the language you need and I will forward a floppy disk to you with the complete text.

I am off for a bit of an extended Thanksgiving break and will be back in the office Tuesday, November 28. Have a pleasant holiday.

Ernst Moritz Manasse: A Black College Welcomes a Refugee¹

by Christoph E. Schweitzer

Ernst Moritz Manasse's story starts with his being a member of a minority in his hometown. Here in North Carolina he was to become the first permanent white faculty member at what was then a college for blacks. He remained loyal to that institution, now called North Carolina Central University, until his retirement.

Ernst Moritz Manasse's roots go back to Dramburg, a small Pomeranian town northeast of Berlin, then near the Polish border. The area became a part of Poland after 1945, and is now called Drawsko: I will use the name it had when Ernst Manasse was born there in 1908. His father's family had lived there for generations; indeed, his paternal great, great grandparents were buried in the town's Jewish graveyard. One can find a description of Ernst Manasse's early years in his wonderful essay entitled "The Jewish Graveyard" (*Southern Review* 22:2 [1986], pp. 296-307). His father was at one time the president of the town's Jewish congregation. He dealt in farm products and had established himself in the town as a person of trust. While, as a Jew, he was socially isolated, he was highly esteemed by many citizens, including the landowners in and around the town. Ernst Manasse's life differed from that of the majority of the other children since he and his family had their own customs, their own holidays, worshipped in a synagogue that was located in a back alley, and buried their dead in the Jewish graveyard. But he accepted that situation as something perfectly normal.

The situation dramatically changed with the Nazi rise to power on January 30, 1933. Two months later, April 1 and 2 were officially declared days on which all Jewish businesses and professional offices were to be boycotted and on the morning of April 1, Nazi uniformed detachments (the so-called Brownshirts) blocked the entrances of all Jewish establishments and prevented anyone from entering and doing any kind of



Ernst Moritz Manasse, classroom photo [From the collection of Ernst Moritz Manasse]

ERNST MORITZ MANASSE

philosopher

Born and educated in Germany, Manasse was awarded the doctorate in philosophy *summa cum laude* at the University of Heidelberg in 1933. In subsequent books he analyzed the reception of Plato's philosophy in Germany, England, the United States, and France. Hitler's Germany quashed all hopes for the young Jewish scholar to obtain any teaching positions and from 1935 to 1937 he taught at a special school for refugee children in Florence, Italy.

Dr. Manasse and his wife Mariann joined the North Carolina College for Negroes (now called North Carolina Central University) in 1939, and continued to teach there in his own field of philosophy as well as German and other fields until his retirement. He was much beloved, both by colleagues and students, many of whom visit him still.

business or professional transactions. It is not clear what the Nazis were expecting, or even hoping for. The Nazis certainly had not foreseen the immediate outcry of foreign nations, and they realized that they needed to prepare public opinion more carefully, both at home and abroad for measures of this kind. Consequently, the second day of the boycott was called off. Officially, it was announced that in order to carry out Adolf Hitler's program, a step-by-step policy would be adopted. The protesting nations viewed this change in policy as a victory, and they failed to see that the injunction to boycott Jewish businesses represented a significant long-term threat to the economic existence of the Jewish community.

In Dramburg, the step-by-step policy was evident as more and more of the non-Jewish customers of Ernst Manasse's father limited their business transactions with him and his partners, the father's younger brother and his uncle. Greatly af-

fected and depressed by the turn of events, his father died a month and a half later, on May 13, 1933. The funeral procession from the family's house to the Jewish cemetery included not only the members of the tiny Jewish community but also a considerable number of his former non-Jewish friends and acquaintances. However, a group of uniformed Nazis waited for the procession at an intersection that it had to cross, blocked it, and wrote down the names of all the non-Jewish mourners, berating them because, as true-blooded Germans ("deutsche Volksgenossen"), they ought to have been ashamed to participate in public mourning for a Jew. The infamous anti-Semitic weekly, Der Stuermer, reported the whole episode a few weeks later: "when the Jew Georg Manasse died in Dramburg recently, the following German citizens were not ashamed to participate in the public mourning...." That page of Der Stuermer was posted on a wall near the central market place of Dramburg. It symbolically marked the enforced end of signs of friendship between Jews and non-Jews in the town. Whoever among the Jewish families could afford it moved in the following weeks and months to larger cities where the social boycott was not as evident as in a small town like Dramburg. The Manasse family now became more and more isolated. People in the street looked the other way so as not to greet them. While his sister and her husband and, a bit later, Ernst Manasse's mother were able to emigrate to Brazil, many other relatives perished in the concentration camps.

Ernst Manasse had gone to Heidelberg to pursue a degree in classical studies. He completed his studies in 1933 and was granted the doctorate summa cum laude. The revised dissertation was not published until 1938 (Platons Sophistes und Politicos. Das Problem der Wahrheit. Berlin: Scholem (Plato's Sophist and Politician: the Problem of Truth)). Even though he now had the prestigious degree, Ernst Manasse had no chance to obtain a regular position in a Germany where Jews were kept out of most employment opportunities. For a short time he tutored a girl whose father was Jewish but that arrangement lasted for only half a year. Part of his studies he had done in France and also in Italy, the mecca of all students of classical antiquity. In 1934 he had met in Rome Paul Oskar Kristeller who also had



Ernst Moritz Manasse

a doctorate from Heidelberg and with whom he shared many friends. In the postwar period, Kristeller was to become one of the very famous Renaissance historian and philosopher in the US. Kristeller wrote to Manasse in the summer of 1935 that he was vacating his position at a boarding school, the Landschulheim Florenz, and that he had recommended Ernst Manasse as his successor. In September 1935 Ernst Manasse began teaching Greek, Latin, philosophy, and history of art at the school in Florence. It had been founded to accommodate predominantly Jewish emigrant children. Some of their parents stayed in Germany where they hoped they could weather the storm, others were in the process of getting ready to emigrate and hoped they would be reunited with their children in the new country.

Having escaped Nazi Germany, Ernst Manasse felt safe for a while in beautiful Florence and in the midst of friendly Italians. It was at the school that he met his future wife, Marianne Bernhard. She was born in Breslau (now Worclaw, Poland) in 1911 but grew up in Berlin. She had studied art history at various universities. Because of Hitler's rise to power she could not complete her studies in Germany. For a while her parents were able to support her while studying in France, but when that was no longer possible, Marianne returned to Berlin. From

there she obtained a position at the Landschulheim as a teacher of French and art, and as counselor to female students.

Her natural talent as well as her pedagogical training helped her in these assignments, and she helped her husband with his approach to teaching on an elementary level for which his studies had not prepared him. They were married in 1936. When Marianne knew that she was pregnant in the summer of the following year, she notified the school. The directors at that time, who had turned the goals of the school away from the humanities toward pragmatic goals, used the news to dismiss her and, for all practical purposes, him too since his salary would not support a family of three. While the Manasses, with the help of an Italian lawyer, received a moderate indemnity for dismissal without valid cause, they were nevertheless without jobs. A search for a job in England, while he had a two-month visiting lectureship at Ridley Hall at Cambridge University, turned up nothing. Back in Florence Ernst, Marianne, and their three-month-old son George were put in prison in connection with Hitler's visit to various Italian cities, among them Florence. Shortly afterwards, they were expelled from Italy altogether, and while Marianne and their son managed to get to Brazil, Ernst was able to obtain a visitor's visa to the US with the help of an uncle who lived in Chicago.

Life in Chicago was anything but pleasant but, after almost a year of anxious searching, he received offers of an assistantship from the University of Illinois and of an instructorship from the North Carolina College for Negroes, today North Carolina Central University. As in the case of his appointment at the Landschulheim in Florence, the position in Durham had come through the recommendation of an acquaintance, this time his friend Ernst Abrahamson, a classmate of his at the University of Heidelberg. Abrahamson was to join the faculty first at Howard University and then at George Washington University. Ernst Manasse accepted the instructorship rather than the lower-paying assistantship at Illinois, since that meant that he would be able to bring his family from Brazil to join him. The decision to offer a full-time faculty appointment to a non-black person was unprecedented and was the sole responsibility of Dr. James Shepard, the founder and first president of the North Carolina College for Negroes.



Ernst Moritz Manasse, in his home after retirement [Photo: Steffen Giersch, 1994, Dresden Germany]

At the time immigration visas were issued only outside of the territory of the US, therefore Ernst Manasse went to Havana, Cuba. He didn't mind the many bedbugs with which his room was infested nor the extra week he had to spend there because of an airline strike, since he knew that he had a position in the US and that therefore he could stay there with his family permanently.

In a speech given on the annual Founder's Day of the North Carolina Central University on November 1, 1985 Ernst Manasse paid tribute to the memory of Dr. James E. Shepard:

I wish you to realize how paradoxical the situation was. It was the year 1939. I was a refugee from racial persecution and was given a haven here at a racially segregated institution which itself was a document of racial discrimination and oppression. I became the first fully employed white teacher at this institution: I, the refugee from racial persecution had become the colleague and teacher of members of an oppressed race, though not belonging to the oppressed group myself. But I was accepted, was given the opportunity to belong, to work as a member of a team as an equal. Helping the persecuted to establish a new home, what action could be more humanitarian than that, especially in that difficult and indeed paradoxical situation: the principal agent of that humanitarian action was Dr. Shepard, the

decision to accept me, to employ me was his: He assumed the responsibility to justify my employment to the Board of Trustees and the officers of the State of North Carolina; for there had been no precedent for it.

Gabrielle Edgcomb's book From Swastika to Jim Crow describes the experiences of Jewish refugee scholars at predominantly black institutions in the South. Ernst Manasse is quoted here in connection with the various trials that faced a refugee from Nazi persecution on account of his "race" in the segregated city of Durham where blacks were considered racially inferior to the dominant whites. He now found himself to be on the other side. Their neighbors—the Manasses lived in an apartment—would not tolerate visits to the Manasses by either his colleagues or his students. Some colleagues at other institutions looked down on those who held positions at predominantly black colleges. In 1944 Ernst Manasse recommended his colleague J. Neal Hughley, Professor of Economics and also the campus minister, for membership in the Southern Society for the Philosophy of Religion. Admission was denied on the ground that the hotels in the South where the society held its meetings would not accommodate Professor Hughley. Ernst Manasse resigned from the organization which soon afterwards changed its policy.

Marianne Manasse also taught at North Carolina State University. When the children reached school age, she went back to her studies and obtained the BA in art history from UNC-Chapel Hill and several years later an MA in Comparative Literature from Duke University. Late in life she also had many productive years as a painter. She died in 1984.

Ernst Manasse taught German, Latin, and philosophy and early on, under the label of logic, offered a course in what one today would call "Black Studies." He was a productive classical scholar. In spite of a heavy teaching schedule and being the chair of his department, he published three important studies on how Plato was seen by groups of scholars who wrote in three different languages. The first of these studies was devoted to various German scholars, the second to scholars who wrote in English, and the third to French scholars. All three appeared as special issues (Sonderhefte) in the Philosophische Rundschau.

To prepare for the second study he was given a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton, from 1958 to 1959. Ernst Manasse retired in 1973.

For Ernst Manasse, as for so many of us and for so many other survivors of tragedies that cost the lives of relatives and friends, the memory of those who perished will forever stay with him. He was among the fortunate ones. That he remained a person who embodies kindness to others and who spreads good will among those who know him, is what makes him so special.

NOTES

1. The following attempt to do justice to the person of Ernst Moritz Manasse is based on a number of conversations which I had with him; on published and unpublished material by Ernst Manasse; and his interview with Gabrielle Simon Edgcomb. The latter interview was published in her book From Swastika to Jim Crow: Refugee Scholars at Black Colleges (Melbourne, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1993, pp. 66-69). This essay was shown to Ernst Manasse for his approval.

Welcoming the New Arrivals to Chapel Hill

by Edward M. Bernstein

I came to North Carolina State College in 1930, a freshly minted Ph.D. from Harvard. This was the beginning of the Great Depression and teaching jobs were scarce. I was interviewed by the Dean, who was very frank about the problem in hiring me. There were no Jews on the State College faculty. He was sure that I would be accepted as a colleague by the other members of the economics department, but he was not sure how the trustees would feel. Nevertheless, he offered me an appointment as an Associate Professor. As the depression deepened, the budget was cut and the economics department had to reduce its staff by one. I thought that as I had the least seniority, I would have to go. Actually, someone else was dropped and I took on an extra class in "Money."

In 1935, Professor Murchison, who taught "Money" and "Business Cycles" at Chapel Hill, was appointed Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the Roosevelt administration. The University had to find a replacement on very short notice. The Economics Department decided to ask me to take over some of Murchison's classes while I continued to teach at State College. At the end of the year, Chapel Hill asked me to accept a permanent appointment. As State College was unwilling to have me leave, the question came to Frank Graham. He saw the problem from my point of view and asked who would make me a full professor. Dean Carroll said that he would give me that rank in the next budget and so I came to Chapel Hill.

When the life-threatening actions of the Nazi regime became apparent, groups were formed all over the country to help the victims. Some Jewish organizations, and the Quakers, were interested in helping anybody who needed to emigrate and who applied for help. The university groups were concerned more specifically with helping scholars, and the surest way of resu-

EDWARD BERNSTEIN economist

The only Jew on the North Carolina State College faculty in 1930, he moved to Chapel Hill in 1935, encouraged by President Frank Porter Graham.

The small but active Quaker community in Chapel Hill had, as part of its agenda, a humanitarian concern for those being persecuted in Germany. Hence, they took part in bringing refugees to this state. Working with that community, and especially with Dean Dudley and Dewitt Carroll, Edward Bernstein and his wife Edith took an active role in further assisting those who came to Chapel Hill.

Regardless of whether they were Jews or non-Jews: if they were in danger of being sent to a concentration camp they were assisted. Edith and Edward opened their home to many refugees.

ing a professors was to have them be offered an appointment at a university. For with an academic appointment, academics who needed to leave Germany were admitted outside the quota limits. A visa for immigration would be issued by our consulates in Europe immediately. The academic groups in New York and Boston asked me to help get appointments for economists. Some of the people in these groups had known me as a student or as a contributor to professional journals. In any case, they assumed that I would want to help the victims of the Nazis. The Quakers in Chapel Hill also assumed that my wife, Mrs. Edith Bernstein, and I wanted to work with them.

Chapel Hill had a surprisingly large influx of refugees from Germany and the occupied countries from 1938 to 1940, and certainly one reason was that North Carolina had a large and active Quaker community with a tradition of concern for human rights. As far as academic refugees and their finding a position at the University of North Carolina was concerned, two



Edward Bernstein, 1947 [From the collection of Edward Bernstein]

individuals deserve much credit: - Dean Carroll of the School of Business, and the then president of the University, Frank Porter Graham.

There were, nevertheless, some problems in settling the refugees in Chapel Hill and elsewhere in North Carolina although, perhaps surprisingly, lack of money was generally not one of them. Some of the refugees had money of their own; and there were committees of academics in the North eager to place the refugee professors in universities in the South and West to avoid their concentration in New York and New England. They were able to provide all or part of the money to pay the salaries of refugee professors. The main problems were work for the refugees and places for them to live.

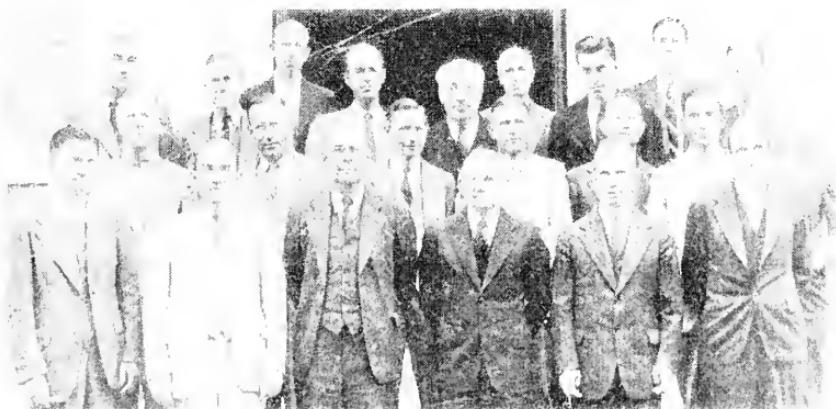
Edith and I had an active role in helping the refugees that came to Chapel Hill. Nearly all of them had to flee from Germany and the occupied countries because they were Jews or had been born Jews or were married to Jews and thus in danger of being sent to a concentration camp. Some members of the committees to place academics knew me and found it convenient to communicate with the University through me. And as some of the refugee professors were economists, they knew of me through my publications. Applicants for immigration to the United States had to have sponsors who undertook that the immigrants would not become public charges, and/or that this immigrant needed a sponsor to sign a commitment to support the immigrant if that became necessary. Edith signed a large number of such affidavits. Although we had a small house and our oldest child was still an infant, we had refugees living with us much of the time between 1938 and 1940.

Some refugees came to Chapel Hill on their own initiative. Among them was the young Peter Drucker, then a child, later to become a distinguished writer on management and western culture, and his parents. As the elder Drucker did not have distinguished academic credentials, he was given a minor appointment. Some others came to Chapel Hill as students and were given whatever help they needed. Georges Lurcy was the most notable of the refugees who came as students. He had a very successful career as a broker in Paris and was quite wealthy. His clients included the Rothschilds. He did not want to settle in New York among other refugees, and as his wife came from

North Carolina, they moved to High Point and he entered the University as a graduate student. He enrolled in one of my classes and we became good friends. He was very generous to the University. While a student, he gave the University the money to improve the tennis courts. Later, at my suggestion he made a gift to be used for any purpose chosen by Dr. Graham and me. The money was used for research in fisheries. He created a charitable and educational trust that funds fellowships and professorships at Chapel Hill. Many of the refugees that came to Chapel Hill were displaced professors.

The Quakers chose Chapel Hill as a first stop in settling refugees in the state, perhaps because it was believed they would feel more at ease with us or because there was no other place to lodge them temporarily. Among them were several non-academics.

We had interesting experiences with some of the refugees that stayed with us. One of our guests was a German doctor who specialized in the psychological problems of children. He had written extensively on the bed-wetting child. As Daniel was only a few months old, he had not yet been trained. Our guest was eager to repay us for our hospitality by curing Daniel of bed-wetting. We made sure, however, that our guest did not practice his specialty on Daniel. Actually, the doctor did not remain in Chapel Hill as the Quakers settled him elsewhere in the state.



Edward Bernstein, with the economics faculty at Chapel Hill in 1937. Bernstein is in the second row, third in from the right. [From the collection of Edward Bernstein]

The Danzigers also stayed with us for a time. Mr. Danziger had been a confectioner in Vienna, with a reputation for excellence. In discussions with him, it was decided that they would settle in Chapel Hill and open a vienna-style cafe. There was a vacant store on Franklin Street that was suitable for such a cafe and could be rented at a low cost. Mr. Danziger estimated that he would need \$1,000 to buy supplies and equipment. I raised the money from friends in Raleigh and Goldsboro. Mr. Danziger bought the baking equipment and the supplies and began to build up a stock of cakes and candies for the opening. Edith bought china and silverware in a five-and ten-cent store. On the opening night, Edith and I sat at home wondering how the Danzigers were getting on. At about nine o'clock I decided to go to Franklin Street to see for myself. I found the place crowded and busy but unable to serve all the customers because there were not enough cups and saucers and other tableware. I stayed in the kitchen washing dishes until the cafe closed for the night. The business was so successful that in a few weeks Mr. Danziger repaid the money I had borrowed for him. After we moved to Washington, Mr. Danziger showed his gratitude by sending us a box of candies for Christmas. As he did not know our address, he sent the package to E. M. Bernstein, Washington, D.C. Astonishingly, the Post Office delivered it to me at the Treasury!

But we were most involved with the academic rather than the non-academic refugess. Here we were able to help because of the sympathetic attitude of President Graham and Dean Carroll. One Sunday, I was called on the telephone by an academic group in New York and was asked to get an immediate appointment to the faculty for Franz Guttman, most recently a distinguished professor at Goettingen. He had been the literary executor of G. F. Knapp, the author of the State Theory of Money, a widely-accepted theory in Germany, and had written the best study of the indemnity of \$1 billion paid by France to Germany after the Franco-Prussian War. During the First World War, he had been a captain in the German army, and was converted to Christianity. I was told that Guttmann was in danger of being sent to a concentration camp and had to leave Germany immediately. Although it was a Sunday morning, I was

able to clear the appointment with Carroll and Graham. Dr. Graham asked me whether the Department could use him and how we could pay his salary. I told him that Dean Carroll approved the appointment and we had the money to pay his salary until the next budget. Mr. Graham then said, "Tell him he will be appointed, but explain to him that this is not because he is a Christian, but because he is being punished for being born a Jew." I felt ashamed that I had mentioned his religion. Dr. Guttman felt aggrieved that he was not given the recognition he thought he deserved, but Mrs. Guttman was a more practical person, grateful for the opportunity to settle in Chapel Hill.

Irvin Hexner was another refugee appointed to the economics department. He was a Czech from Bratislava with a reputation as an authority on cartels. As I recall, he wrote to me from London. I asked one of the committees on academics about him and they cleared him as professionally qualified and he did not need financial help. As usual, Dean Carroll and President Graham approved his appointment and he came to Chapel Hill with his family. Edith arranged to meet him and his family at the railroad station in Durham. The train had arrived early and she missed them. She deduced that they probably had gone to the Carolina Inn, so she went there and found them in the cafeteria. Edith was dressed informally in a house dress, bobby sox, and was carrying Daniel in her arms. She introduced herself. They were astonished and asked her, "Are you the professor's wife?" They became good friends.

On the whole, the refugees adapted well to living in North Carolina. They were generally an older group content to be able to work in their callings. Their children were successful. One became a very successful writer on business problems, another became a high-ranking officer in the army, and many were very successful in business. The difficulties were of a petty nature and largely due to differences in cultural expectations. For Edith and me, the greatest problem was sharing our limited space with our guests. As we only had one bathroom, it was not possible to accommodate two families comfortably. We were eager to help our guests find a house for themselves. There were modest homes available at that time, although they some-



Edward Bernstein, with wife Edith in North Carolina in 1937 [From the collection of Edward Bernstein]

times needed refurbishing. One house rented by a refugee needed interior painting. An American would have painted it himself. This was not what a German professor would do. We solved the problem by my painting the house. That suited everyone. Our guest had a home of their own; we had our house back to ourselves.

There are several points I want to emphasize. First, we were able to help the refugees because of the friendly attitude of Dr. Graham, Dean Carroll and the faculty generally. Second, there was no financial cost to the university. The salary of Professor Guttman, for example, was paid out of funds I received from the committee to place refugee professors. Professor Hexner provided the funds to pay his salary. The Quakers paid the cost of bringing the non-academic refugees to Chapel Hill. Finally, I want to say that the refugees appreciated the help they received and we were glad to have given it.

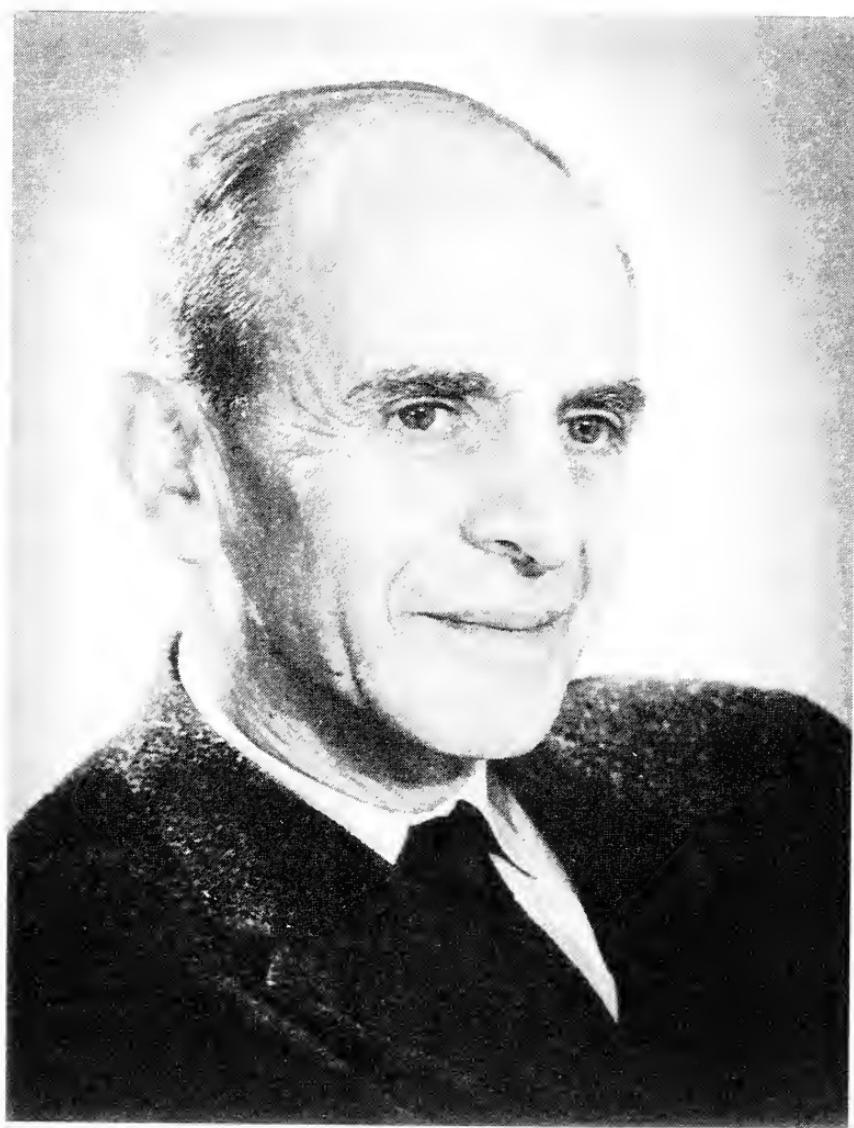
“Carolina” Vignettes: Alfred T. Brauer, mathematician¹

by Henry A. Landsberger

I will speak to you about two persons - but really, about two couples. For neither Professor Alfred Brauer, a lifelong mathematician and a Kenan Professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, nor Mrs. Edith London, a lifelong painter who has been honored with solo exhibitions from Switzerland to Washington to our own area, would be fully understandable without their spouses. Indeed, their's was an attachment not only to each other, but to siblings, brothers-and sisters-in-law and each others' parents. Both families possess pictures of weddings, anniversaries and birthdays in which well over twenty persons are arrayed, spanning sometimes five generations.

There were many others who came to this State, were welcomed and contributed. At UNC, Dr. Clemens Sommer, a distinguished art historian and Dr. Ernst Morwitz of the German Department. Outside the University, Justus Bier, the second director of the North Carolina Museum of Art and those at Black Mountain College portrayed by Ms. Harris. At Duke, the founder of the Rice Institute, Dr. Walter Kempner of the Department of Medicine, surely deserves mention, as well as the psychologist, Professor William Stern.

Professor Alfred Brauer, a creative mathematician with a bibliography of over 100 items, is most vividly remembered at UNC as a dedicated teacher and, more broadly, as a helper and a supporter of all those who shared his enthusiasm for mathematics and of everything that might advance that discipline. His establishment of the library, deservedly named after him, that covered not only mathematics, but Physics and Statistics as well, is but one aspect of that enthusiasm. Brauer had established a similar library already while at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton. His desire to help - which at this



Alfred Brauer, photo taken for the Alfred T. Brauer Library in Phillips Hall, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, c. 1965 [Photo by Harold Weaver]

ALFRED BRAUER

mathematician

During World War I, Alfred Brauer served in the German Army, was wounded and taken prisoner. Beginning his studies after the war, he helped to organize the "Cooperative of Mathematicians and Physicists," an organization that helped new students "find their way" with mentors, social contacts, and loan funds.

The ascent of Hitler put an end to his academic career at the University of Berlin. Brauer and his wife were reluctant to leave Germany without their parents. It was his non-Jewish friends who ultimately convinced him and his family to emigrate to the U.S. just three months before the outbreak of World War II.

After three years of research at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, Brauer came to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1942. A dedicated teacher who won many awards, his devotion to building up the library of mathematics, statistics, and physics was recognized by naming it after him. Their home and his wife Hilda's hospitality was much appreciated by colleagues and students alike. After his retirement from Chapel Hill, he rendered valuable service to the mathematics program at Wake Forest University.

university is symbolized by stories about his wandering through the graduate student bull-pen at midnight and weekends - was a life-long characteristic.

For four years in the German Army during World War I - like so many loyal German Jews, he had volunteered for military service at its very beginning - he had been both wounded and taken prisoner during that terrible war. Hence he resumed his interrupted studies in a depressed mood which reflected not only his personal experiences, but his reaction to Germany's fate and the mood of Germany as a nation. It was a sense of national humiliation perhaps comparable to the mood of the

Old South after the War between the States.

Nevertheless, while suffering from the effects of the war, Alfred Brauer led a group of fellow student war veterans to found the so-called "Cooperative of Mathematicians and Physicists" ("Mathematisch-Physikalische Arbeitsgemeinschaft" - MPHA). They helped entering students overcome both the academic and the social and psychological shock of university study. Not only was there academic mentoring, but organized excursions (the famous German "Ausfluege"), social and musical get-togethers, joint attendance at concerts and theaters as well as discounts on the purchase of books and setting up a small loan fund. It is that characteristic of wanting to help the needy, a trait which showed itself in the early 1920's in Berlin, that was to characterize Alfred Brauer forever.

But no sooner had Brauer embarked on an academic career at the University of Berlin than that career and that of his mentor, Issai Schur, was cut short by the second catastrophe: the advent of the Hitler regime. Despite his dismissal from the University of Berlin in 1935 Brauer and his young wife Hilde Wolf — who is present here today: many of you know her, of course — they had married the previous year - stayed on in Berlin, reluctant to leave behind siblings and the older generation. Only in late 1938 did a non-Jewish friend and colleague who became seriously concerned about his safety, manage to persuade them to emigrate, after he had barely escaped being put in a concentration camp subsequent to the Kristallnacht in November 1938. The hasty departure - their two-year old daughter Ellen was with them, of course, - took place in June 1939, a mere three months before the outbreak of the Second World War.

If, positioning ourselves in the year 1942 when he first came to Chapel Hill, we look back on Professor Brauer's life up to that point, it is remarkable that he should enter this, to him, very strange world here with undiminished readiness to reach out to both the young and to his colleagues in Chapel Hill and elsewhere. We need to picture for ourselves a man who, by 1942, was then almost 50 years old - he was born in Berlin in 1894 - and who had already experienced the two lengthy traumatic life-episodes which I have described, in which catastro-

phes at the national/political level of Germany were directly reflected at the immediate-personal.

Despite these two major traumas, totally uprooted from the intellectual, cultural and social environment with which Brauer was familiar, with a far from total command of English, and no knowledge about the region in which he would have to begin again, he was ready to resume his life-long pattern of helping others. The immediate transition was made a little easier by the fact that family and former colleagues awaited them in New York, and he could take up a modest assistant position at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Princeton which at that time had many illustrious refugees from Nazi Germany amongst its members.

In early 1942 he came here with the expectation of a permanent position, but formally as a merely one-semester temporary replacement (for Professor E. T. Brown). And by the end of that spring 1942 semester, "temporary" it looked like all it would be, not only formally, but in harsh reality. Exactly why the then chairman of the department, Arthur Henderson, did not come forth with the expected renewal of the one-semester contract we can't be absolutely sure. Professor Henderson is reputed to have been more enthralled by, and indeed more knowledgeable about, the writings of Bernard Shaw and the history of the State of North Carolina than about progress in mathematics. And there was said to have been a feeling that Alfred Brauer, this intensely focused, somewhat difficult to understand and certainly strange-sounding person, might not fit into what was then - now it is very different - the ambience of the Department. One student who came here in the later nineteen forties remembers that even then he was told that Brauer "was the only real mathematician in Chapel Hill." And students could indeed be found, then and later, who said they found him difficult to follow: not using textbooks, writing intensely and rapidly on the blackboard, not explaining some links in reasoning which he thought would confuse more than enlighten students. One story has it that even after his appointment was permanent, he was once called in by the Dean of Arts and Sciences to whom had been forwarded a complaint by a student in the Department about his being difficult to understand. When Brauer asked

for details, he was told it was from a female student - at a time when there were no females in the Department. There clearly were some unfriendly shennanigans.

In any case, back in the summer of 1942, it took a congratulatory letter from an admiring student's father - a father who also happened to be a very powerful U. S. Congressman Stephen Young of Ohio - which was forwarded by friends at Princeton to Henderson, to persuade the latter to offer Brauer a longer-term appointment: written on a postcard. And notwithstanding the occasional Tar Heel student who found number-theory transmitted in a Berlin accent difficult to follow, the fact is that he counted on the admiration not only of very serious, capable graduate students who were later to become colleagues and chairs of the Department of Mathematics - (Professors Mewborn, Wright and Clifton Whyburn.) But the undergraduates respected him enough to vote in 1963, three years before his retirement, that he be given the Tanner Award for Excellence in Teaching. That was followed by an Honorary LLD from this university in 1972, the Hegel Medal from Berlin's Humboldt University the previous year, and many other distinctions.

There are many stories about Professor Brauer which, if you have a sense of humor, will make you smile; if you're a little on the stiff side - and on the receiving end - might get your hackles up. Eternally vigilant to protect his library, he would get the keys to a graduate student's dorm-room to retrieve the overdue volume. Disliking the text used in calculus, he refused to teach it. Keen to see no mistakes creep into the teaching of mathematics, he would correct a graduate assistant whom he overheard making a terminological error as he walked by his classroom. Intensely interested in teaching even the weakest of undergraduates, he threatened to leave if confined to the graduate level.

But none of this was ever done to pose or to show off his knowledge or to lessen the other. Indeed, those who knew him describe him as essentially a very modest man who hated to parade the breadth of his knowledge even when he did intervene, during one dinner party in a discussion over a Latin passage between two professors of classics, by reciting that passage in full, from memory. He wrote his papers while travelling by

bus or train: that's why he preferred not to fly. He might go to sleep during a seminar; he might be a little stiff at social gatherings - it was his wife Hilde who in many ways was the bridge into their more relaxed social and cultural life of Chapel Hill.

Rabbi Rosenzweig, at his funeral in December 1985, called him a wealthy man because he was happy with what he had: his family and his work: one of the 36 select men ("lamed-vavnicks") for whom God created this world, who represent what God hoped would be represented in man when he created this world. Here he is commemorated not only by the library named after him in 1976, but by an annual distinguished lecture (1985) and an Instructorship at Wake Forest (1975), where he taught, did research on an Air Force grant, and once again established a library, in the 10 years after he retired from Carolina. He has left an indelible mark on this State, and beyond.

NOTES

1. Presented at the Bicentennial Symposium: "The German Presence in North Carolina," March 18-19, 1994. Landsberger is a Professor in the Department of Sociology, and acknowledges with deep gratitude the help of Mrs. Hilde Brauer , as well as numerous persons both at the University of North Carolina and at Duke, as well as in the broader community, who provided loving information about the two persons briefly profiled in this presentation. Carefully written profiles by H. Rohrbach (Jber.d.Dt.Math. - Verein.90 (1988)145-154), and by Richard T. Carmichael (Jl. of the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, 02 (3), 1986pp. 88-106) were also helpful.

“Carolina” Vignettes: W. David Falk, Philosopher

by Jeanette L. Falk

David Falk brought to his twenty-eight years in Chapel Hill his natural vitality, and an outlook on life shaped by the remarkable experiences of his previous fifty-seven years.

He was born in Berlin in 1906 to a father who was a family doctor and a mother who was part of the illustrious and eccentric Cassirer family. He told stories about his grandfather and great uncles who met every day in a Berlin café to plot business strategy, solidifying their fortunes made in the cable and lumber industries that fed Germany's rush to industrialize after its unification in 1871. He told about the big family parties in the apartment that could accommodate a forty-person sit-down dinner “without removing the piano.” The family met often to amuse and torture each other with their sharp “Cassirer wit.” Stories, scandals, exploits were told and retold until they achieved a mythic quality.

School was a mixed experience. As one of the few Jewish boys in his class and one of the sturdiest, he often found himself forced to fight to fend off the taunts of fellow students. But he had some inspiring teachers and especially remembered one in history and philosophy who took him under his wing.

By the time he was ready to go to a university, his family's fortune had been ravaged by the inflation of the 1920's. The family decided that he should try his hand at business, so he spent a year as an autoparts salesman (selling, among other things, a machine that would “rough up” slick tires to extend their wear, and hand operated windshield wipers!) But finally his intense desire for university study was heeded. He went to the University of Berlin, then transferred to Heidelberg where he finished a Ph.D. in Political Economy in 1932. He obtained a teaching position at the Hochschule für Politik, the youngest, he was told, ever to hold such a post. But by then, Germany was be-



David Falk, center, with students at Wayne State University c. 1950-60 [From the collection of Jeanette Falk]

coming inhospitable for a liberal/socialist Jewish intellectual. Packing for a ski trip in Austria, he threw in a suit along with his usual gear. During the holiday, his parents sent a telegram advising him that "for his health" he should extend his vacation. He never returned to live in Germany.

After a short stay in France, he went to England. Determined to pursue his career, he found that the English university system had no use for a German Ph.D. He must go through the undergraduate program and, what is more, he must emerge with a "First Class Honors" degree: the British equivalent of summa cum laude. He began an intense effort to master his new culture and found this to be an exhilarating and enlarging experience. He read English literature, 18th century philosophy and anything else that came his way. The "First" at Oxford was duly won and he was taken on as a lecturer at New College in 1938.

Oxford was a wonderful experience. He embraced and admired Oxford's tradition of open, fierce and exacting intellectual exchange, but he never felt totally at home, and he never lost the wide base in Kant, Hegel, and Marx that he had learned in Germany. He used to say, only partly joking, that after ten

DAVID FALK philosopher

Born into a well-to-do family in Berlin just after the turn of the century, David Falk became a liberal/socialist Jewish intellectual like many of his generation in Germany, the U.S., and elsewhere. The hostile atmosphere in Germany forced him to flee to England, where he finished his studies in Oxford with such distinction that he was appointed to a Lectureship.

Shortly after the war he emigrated to Australia, and in 1958, to the United States. After a visiting professorship at the University of Michigan he came to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1963. Within a few months he was appointed to a named professorship and made chairman of the department of philosophy. While a man of independent ideas, the university administration and he worked together to enhance his department's programs including the establishment of the much respected annual Chapel Hill Colloquium in Philosophy.

He was an avid collector of sculpture and served on the advisory board for the Ackland Art Museum.

years some colleagues still raised their voices when addressing him in the common room in case he might not understand. Yet this melding of cultures and educations combined with his Berlin/Cassirer-shaped sensibility made him very original. He had the unrelenting precision of mind of the Anglo-American analytical philosophical tradition on top of the rich social science oriented German education - and he had the ready wit to bring it all into focus.

Despite his affection for Oxford, when a position was offered to him in Australia, he moved there with his family. He flowered in the free atmosphere of Melbourne. The casual, less tradition-bound university, the wild country, the intense artis-

tic and intellectual scene just suited him.

In 1958 he came to the United States as a visiting professor at the University of Michigan, and in the Spring of 1963 he came as a visiting professor to the University of North Carolina's Department of Philosophy. After only a few months in that position, the department offered him the chairmanship and awarded him the newly endowed Hanes professorship. Perhaps surprisingly, David Falk and Chapel Hill were a perfect fit. The university community accepted him with warmth and respect, not as an oddity or an object of suspicion. After all, Chapel Hill was no provincial outpost. Many members of the faculty had studied abroad and were eager to see UNC become a more cosmopolitan place. Professor Maynard Adams, chairman of the philosophy department in the early sixties, was actively seeking to give the department "world representation." Foreign born professors were nothing new at the University. In the 1940's, during the war, a German, Helmuth Kuhn, was a member of the philosophy department. (He eventually went back to Munich.) Chapel Hill was tolerant toward and, indeed, actively seeking new influences.

Falk himself did not cultivate his refugee-ness. He strove to perfect his English and master its idiomatic subtlety. He sought to distance himself from the caricature of the learned, lovable but quirky misfit which some refugees embraced. Wade Marlette, who was a graduate student when Falk first joined the department, says that he was not so much thought of as a refugee as a British/German scholar. He was "exotic" only in that he wasn't like anyone else. His positive individuality overshadowed any category such as "German Jewish refugee."

The chairmanship's mandate to build the department provided an outlet for Falk's energetic vitality with which he always had to struggle when he wanted to channel it solely into scholarly pursuits. He approached his dealings with the university administration with zest and with due respect for his, at times, adversaries. (He learned early not to be deceived by easy Southern charm!) The expanding university of the mid-60's and early 70's gave him scope to hire and start new ventures like the much respected annual Chapel Hill Colloquium in Philosophy. The democratic style and broad mission of the university ap-

pealed to him. He never longed for the elite and focused European university atmosphere.

He was proud of being Jewish but he was not religious. He thought that such cultural differences should be the basis for one's identity and a source of private pride, but should not be emphasized. He favored blurring ethnic and cultural boundaries — not assimilation but de-emphasizing the lines separating groups. He extended this attitude to Germany and did not waste his energy being anti-German. He was against Nazism wherever it showed itself; the Germans had no monopoly on wickedness. His attitude toward people was deeply tolerant and liberal. After all, his philosophy was grounded in Kant as much as it was inspired by Hume. He was no ideologue and was not interested in foisting his beliefs on others. This did not make him a traditional liberal in foreign affairs. Here his attitude was closer to Realpolitik. He thought war and conflict were inherent to human nature and could be deterred only by strength. Thus he had little patience with sentimentality and saw the belief in man's inherent peacefulness as a most dangerous sort of sentimentality.

Despite his urban roots, he loved Chapel Hill as a place: its peace, verdure and the opportunity it gave him to have a house and plenty of space. He used to say that the trees were Chapel Hill's architecture. If he occasionally missed the cultural intensity of a big city like London (and Chapel Hill in 1963 was quiet) he would remind himself that, "You can only live in one place at a time."

He had an intense passion for the visual arts. When he was a boy, he once played hookey from school for a whole week, going every day to pore over the prints collection at the Berlin State Library. As he matured, he began collecting Chinese, Greek, Egyptian, and later, African and Native American sculpture. Chapel Hill's lively artistic community provided a congenial milieu for this passion. For some years he sat on an advisory board for the Ackland Museum, contributing his original, witty and often irreverent comments on proposed acquisitions.

He found plenty of intellectual challenge in Chapel Hill. He talked philosophy at length with students and colleagues and anyone who just came to his office in search of a serious

ear. After he retired from the chairmanship in 1974, he spent a year at the National Humanities Center and then continued to be in his office in Caldwell Hall, writing and talking and teaching. Every other week, he hosted, in his home, a lively Triangle Ethics Discussion Circle which drew participants from as far as Greensboro, every other week. On his eightieth birthday, Cornell University Press published his collected essays, which included some recently completed work, under the title, "Ought, Reasons, and Morality." He continued seeing students and colleagues to talk philosophy until days before he died, always energized by the power of the subject.

Chapel Hill gave David Falk a generous opportunity to express himself as a philosopher, a teacher, administrator, and art collector as well as a peaceful homeowner and family man. In his energetic enjoyment of these pursuits he, in turn, enriched the community and left his mark on it.

“Carolina” Vignettes: Ernst Morwitz, German Literature

by Sidney R. Smith

Ernst Morwitz was born in Danzig on 13 September 1877. After his years at the Kaiserin-Augusta-Gymnasium (Berlin-Charlottenburg 1906) he studied at the Universities of Freiburg, Heidelberg, and Berlin (1906-1910) and was awarded the Dr. Juris utriusque by Heidelberg University in 1910. Morwitz is remembered, however, not for his juridical service but rather because of his membership in the circle around the poet Stefan George (1868-1933) and his dedication to making George's poetry available to an English-speaking audience. Morwitz's coming to North Carolina and his contributions while living here are the subject of the present article.

A brief glimpse of Morwitz's pre-North Carolina days may be of interest, but the reader should consult the many studies of the Stefan George Circle if details of Morwitz's relationship to Stefan George are desired. Morwitz had already begun writing poetry as a youth. Poems which he sent to George in 1906 were well received by the “Master” (as George was called by his disciples), and from that time on he was very close to George and the George Circle. In 1911 Morwitz published a 113-page volume entitled simply Gedichte, not surprisingly with the Verlag Blätter für die Kunst, which was George's undertaking. Additional Morwitz poems appeared in various volumes of Blätter für die Kunst, the periodical publication of the publishing company just mentioned. Morwitz's rôle as a disciple of Stefan George led to the publication of Die Dichtung Stefan Georges (Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1933; second edition 1948). A slender volume of Morwitz's translations of poems by Sappho appeared in 1936 (Berlin: Georg Bondi), with, astonishingly, a second edition in 1938 right at the time when the Nazi campaign against Jews was intensifying.

Dr. Morwitz's public profession was related to his univer-

ERNST MORWITZ

poet, educator

Ernst Morwitz studied law in Germany but his heart was in writing poetry. His poems were well received by Stefan George to whose circle Morwitz was to belong all his life.

Morwitz published a book on Stefan George and, as a Jew, having been forced into early retirement from his judicial position, came to Durham, North Carolina with the help of Walter Kempner of Duke University. Morwitz found employment teaching German both at Duke and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Through his translation with Olga Marx, all the poetry of Stefan George was made available to the English speaking public.

sity education: he was associated first with the Landgericht in Berlin (1919-1929) and then the Kammergericht (1930-1936); while he was a judge with the latter he was also Senatspräsident. He was forced into early retirement in 1936 because he was Jewish (Winkler 78-79). Professor Allen H. Chappel believes that, after the Second World War ended, Dr. Morwitz received back pay going all the way back to the time when he had to abandon his position.

Dr. Walter Kempner came to Durham in 1934 and was later to gain fame for his famous "rice diet" at Duke University. He was a friend and admirer of Stefan George and encouraged Olga Marx to translate George poems (five of which subsequently appeared in a "little magazine"). Dr. Kempner knew Ernst Morwitz and made great effort to bring him to the United States. In 1938 he persuaded Frau Paraskewe von Bereskine, a good friend of Morwitz, to arrange for Morwitz's emigration. In November 1938 Morwitz arrived in New York and took an instant liking to the city, which he called "Babylon." He stayed there however only one day, long enough to visit the anthropologist



"The Young Ernst Morwitz" ca. 1910 [by Otto Witte, Berlin; photo taken from Mein Bild von Stefan George by Robert Boehringer]

Franz Boas at Columbia University, and then set out for Durham (Marx 32).

On his very first day in Durham Morwitz came with Dr. Kempner and another doctor to have lunch at the home of Olga Marx. The newcomer's efforts to converse in English came to nought, for he had never managed to put his considerable English vocabulary together in the form of a spoken language. The only book he had read in English was Kipling's Kim. It was therefore decided that Dr. Morwitz would have daily English lessons from Olga Marx.

The daily lessons, involving the reading of Willa Cather's Death Comes to the Archbishop and also Kim, became too tedious for the two of them. They switched to short stories, newspaper articles, and poems. One day Olga Marx showed Morwitz her translation of George's "Der Teppich" (from Der Teppich des Lebens), which he read carefully several times. He then said to her, "We will translate all of George's poems into English" (Marx 33).

Olga Marx lived in the rather elegant section of Durham known as Hope Valley and could see the golf course from her study. A former colleague of Morwitz, the late Professor Werner P. Friederich, said that Morwitz, having no automobile, took the bus to Hope Valley on each day that the translation was to be done. One notes that Olga Marx used the pen-name Carol North Valhope, borrowing elements from the name Hope Valley, in their first collaborative publication (Stefan George Poems, cited below).

Olga Marx describes the collaborative effort thus: She would make a rough rhyming translation of a poem in the evening or early the next morning; when Morwitz arrived she would present several choices of English words for particular German phrases, and he would decide which was the best fit. It became clear that English provided far more nuances in its extensive vocabulary than German, so that the choice of English word required a very fine sense of the meaning of the original. In the process of making the word selections new subtleties of the original text became clear to the two of them (Marx 34-35).

The collaborators gave much thought to capturing the sound quality of George poems, because—according to Morwitz—this

was as important as or perhaps even more important than the literal content. There was careful attention to the rhythm and to the distribution of long and short syllables. Acknowledging the difference in structure of English and German, they transferred color and descriptive richness from adjectives to verbs when possible, although sometimes the striking word-creation of the poet was left intact for special effect. They found ways to deal with what they perceived as a relative shortage of rhyme possibilities in English vis-à-vis German. The principles of their translation are outlined in an afterword to the volume published by Pantheon (and later by Schocken) and in "Meine Zusammenarbeit mit Ernst Morwitz" (especially pages 34-37) by Olga Marx.

Collaboration with Olga Marx in translating German texts first bore fruit with Stefan George Poems, published by Pantheon books in New York in 1943 (reprinted by Schocken, 1967). It is a book of 254 pages, with German text on the left side and English translation on the right side of each opening. Morwitz provides an introduction with a sketch of George's life and an effort to bring the reader to an understanding of the poet's mission as manifested in his poetry. The book has special interest because it indicates which poems Morwitz considered most worthy of presentation to a wider audience.

Olga Marx also collaborated with Morwitz on the translation of the volume Poems of Alcman, Sappho, Ibucus (New York: Knopf, 1945). They published a translation from German (and its Greek sources) of Gods and Heroes, by Gustav Schwab (New York: Pantheon, 1946); Morwitz also provided corrections to the factual errors of the original. Their translation of Karl Wolfskehl's Die Stimme spricht appeared as 1933. A Poem Sequence with Schocken Books (New York, 1947).

Of particular importance to the University of North Carolina is the collaboration of Morwitz and Marx on The Works of Stefan George. This substantial volume of 348 pages appeared in 1949 as the second volume in the University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures. It contains translations of essentially all George poetry but does not include the original German texts. An expanded 427-page second edition, revised by Dietrich von Bothmer with the help of

manuscripts and notes of the translators, was published in 1974 as volume 78 of the series mentioned above. After the appearance of the first edition, many Germans living outside Germany wrote to Dr. Morwitz and declared that the translations illuminated many poems which they had not earlier understood.

During the time when Ernst Morwitz was busy with the translation work he was also much involved in the demands of his teaching positions. He had to prepare lectures and translate them into English and attend to all the other duties of instructors. His first teaching appointment after arriving in the United States was as a Teaching Fellow in German Language at Duke University (1939-1942). At the University of North Carolina, Professor Richard Jente, Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages, learned of Dr. Morwitz's presence in the area and invited him to join the staff at UNC. Around this time Dr. Morwitz compiled a German-English dictionary for the United States War Department.

Morwitz came to UNC as an instructor in 1943 and was then made a lecturer in 1949. He reached the retirement age of 65 in September 1952 but was renewed on a year-by-year basis thereafter until he chose to forgo his approved renewal for 1956-57 and take his retirement beginning 1 July 1956. He did not become an American citizen until June 1947.

The record shows that Dr. Morwitz taught German language and literature at UNC, but it is not recorded up to what level the literature courses went. An anecdote passed along (but unconfirmable) is that Morwitz became annoyed at a student whose sleeping habits frequently kept him from attending an early-morning German class. On a day when this student did not show up, Morwitz reportedly led the entire class to Battle-Vance-Pettigrew dormitory, to the room of the sleeping Barkley Brown, and thrust the textbook at the awakening figure with the command, "Now read!"

According to Dr. Chappel, although Morwitz never taught a course on Stefan George, he did give a talk on George for the department, in the conference room of Saunders Hall, and also gave a similar presentation to the UNC Philological Club (in the Morehead Planetarium building). The records show also that he gave a lecture on the influence of politics on German

Law (6 February 1956), presented to the Law School Association of Chapel Hill.

Morwitz's Chapel Hill residence was at 108 Battle Lane, but, being somewhat reclusive (according to Professor Chappel), not many people visited him. He was however frequently seen taking walks in various neighborhoods around Chapel Hill ("He was ubiquitous," said Allen Chappel) and was sometimes accompanied by a Frau Landmann, who provided him with identifications of plant and animal life as they strolled (Marx 38). He found a different kind of diversion in his frequent visits to the movie theaters of Chapel Hill.

The writer of the present article has had to rely on documents for most information on Ernst Morwitz but has also included information supplied by a former professor and a former student from the Morwitz era. Allen Chappel, the student, did not know Ernst Morwitz well. Morwitz was very secretive and independent and did not generally want to talk with people; only when he initiated a conversation did a conversation take place—at least when a student was the other party (according to Allen Chappel). Occasionally Mr. Chappel would sit with him at a meal in the Carolina Inn, sometimes with conversation, sometimes without. Once when Mr. Chappel was trying to make conversation, Morwitz just said "Eat!"

Dr. Morwitz's left the University of North Carolina in 1956 to complete his major work entitled Kommentar zum Werk Stefan Georges, which was published by Bondi Verlag in 1960 (second edition 1969 by the same publishing company, renamed Helmut Küpper). Here is made available a poem-by-poem analysis and explanation of George's lyric, the difficulty of which sometimes makes such commentary very necessary. Naturally Morwitz, as an intimate of George, could sketch the back-ground and describe George's process of creating these poems.

When Ernst Morwitz died, his ashes were scattered about the burial place of "The Master" (Stefan George) in Minusio, near Locarno.

SOURCES

Allen H. Chappel, personal communication (9 July 1994).

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“Carolina” Vignettes: Dr. Clemens Sommer, art historian

by Joseph C. Sloane¹

One of the great intellectual migrations of modern times occurred in the years immediately preceding and during World War II — a migration fueled by the evil persecution of Germany’s Nazi regime. In the early thirties, I was a graduate student, and later an instructor, in the department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton, at that time one of the centers for these rather new disciplines in America. I recall vividly my selfish apprehensions about my future, if, by the time I was trained, the best jobs in this comparatively new field would already be preempted by this extraordinary influx of famous German scholars whose country was, by that time, supreme in these disciplines. Erwin Panofsky, by most estimates the most distinguished of them all in the field of art history, actually came to Princeton to take a place alongside the great Albert Einstein in the Institute for Advanced Study just as I was taking my orals for the M.F.A.! Soon many already famous European emigré professors in my field were on the faculties of Columbia, New York University, Yale, and elsewhere, to the enrichment of higher education wherever they landed. Fortunately for everyone, the field suddenly became important all over the country, and the demand for scholars and teachers from my own younger generation was rapidly increasing.

I did not meet Clemens Sommer until I joined the department in 1959, by which time he had been at the University already for twenty years. He had left a very promising career in Europe which had included appointments at universities in Germany, Italy, and Sweden as well as the Hertziana Library in Rome. He had a distinguished record behind him in research and publication in the field of European medieval art, but was a specialist in German sculpture which had led to a professorship at Greifswald University in North Germany, one of the oldest in that country. He had received his doctorate from the Univer-

CLEMENS SOMMER art historian

In 1939, when Sommer arrived at the University of North Carolina the art book collection consisted of only a few hundred books. In 1962 when Sommer died, a count was made at the art library. The original meager beginnings had been increased to a fine collection of 8,000 volumes due to the efforts of Clemens Sommer, professor of art at UNC-Chapel Hill.

Clemens Sommer was born in Brandenburg in 1891 into a Catholic family. His father was a general in the German army, and he himself served in the army during World War I. He obtained his doctorate in art history at the University of Freiburg in 1919, and was an assistant curator at museums both in Freiburg and in Rome. He ended his academic career in Germany over differences with the Nazi regime in 1937. After a short stay in Sweden he came to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1939.

In addition to teaching, Clemens Sommer was co-founder of the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, the only museum in the United States funded exclusively with state funds at the time.

sity of Freiburg i. Br., to which he would not return until 1959 on a Fulbright grant.

But in late 1937 the family emigrated to Sweden, making use of an invitation to lecture there. The move was carefully planned and disguised as a combined vacation and professional trip. It was prompted by his being called to local Nazi Party headquarters and told that while the party approved of him and his parental background, he would have to divorce his wife, Elizabeth, who, though a Lutheran, was of partly Jewish origin. It is worth noting that his father, a Catholic as was his son, had been a general in the German army in World War I, and



Charles Sommer, art department faculty meeting, 1947. Attending right to left: Clemens Sommer, Raymond Puccinelli, William Meade Prince, John Rembert, Ken Ness, John Allcott and Lynette Warren.

that his mother came from an aristocratic family. For a short while, due to the good offices of a friend, he continued to receive his salary in Sweden, but early in 1938, he was, of course, dismissed from his professorship. Later that year, the family took the final step to safety, emigrating from Sweden to this country.

Upon their arrival here, Mrs. Sommer worked for the American Friends Service Committee in New York City and, by a strange coincidence, helped the Danziger family get to Chapel Hill before the Sommer family had any inkling that they, too, would be living there soon. The Emergency Committee sent Professor Sommer's curriculum vitae to various universities, and it was Russell Smith, chair of the Department of Art at the time, later to become director of the Boston Museum of Art, who offered Sommer a position at the university here.

He was well liked in his new home, and rose quickly from Visiting Professor in 1939, to Associate in 1940, and Full Professor in 1947, well before my own arrival in the winter of 1959 - 60 to take on the Chairmanship and be Director of the new Ackland Museum. We are told that he did have some almost humorous problems in early 1942, at the beginning of World War II. For like other refugees from Germany in the United

States, he was officially defined as an “enemy alien.” Consequently, his ownership of a camera, of binoculars and a short-wave receiver became suspect and all were, briefly, confiscated. The cloud of suspicion soon lifted, however, and he was made an air-raid warden, trusted to do his duty should the German enemy launch an aerial blitzkrieg on Chapel Hill. Mrs. Sommer soon found work in the community, too, becoming an assistant to blind social workers whom she drove to their clients many of whom were, in turn, blind.

During the twenty years he lived and taught in Chapel Hill, his reputation as a scholar, teacher, expert, and fine citizen became firmly established in the still small art communities of the University, the city of Durham, where Duke was also establishing this new field of study, and in Raleigh, the State capital. North Carolina was discovering the interest and value of the academic study of art and its history, but it was still a new field of study here as elsewhere. German language and German history were already established disciplines, but art history was very recent, although John Alcott and his associates had made a notable beginning, Sommer added new lustre to the enterprise. Quite how new the field was as an independent academic field is illustrated by an anecdote told by Dr. Sommer himself and related in Foushee's Art in North Carolina.² Dr. Frank Porter Graham, President of the University, had of course been involved in hiring Professor Sommer, and though he knew that Sommer was an art historian, assumed that he would also be a painter. According to Sommer, when they met at parties, “Dr. Frank,” aware that Sommer was not painting, would often ask him when he was going to start and somehow didn't quite accept that his new arrival was not a painter. Finally, he put the question to Sommer's son, Sebastian, when the two met as they crossed the campus. When Sebastian, too, replied that his father wasn't painting, Dr. Graham asked him why not, to which the son replied: “because he can't.” That, apparently, ended the matter.³

Sommer was a much admired and caring teacher and some who were his students then attribute their own skills and devotion later in their own careers to the model he provided for them. Lectures would often consist of a set of slides, with Sommer

talking about them spontaneously and without the backing of a set of notes, the students mesmerized by the performance. He had one quaint and endearing habit: having his cocker spaniel Toby accompany him wherever he went, the classroom included. One story about him concerns two students overheard riding in a bus, with one complaining to the other that he couldn't understand what Professor Sommer was trying to get across, and that he feared he might not get a passing grade, something which he desperately needed. His friend is said to have replied that all he needed to do was to pet Toby and tell Dr. Sommer that he loved the dog, and all would be well - something deemed extremely unlikely by those who knew him to be concerned about his students, but not willing to lower his academic standards for them.

As a person, Clemens Sommer fitted in effectively, cheerfully, and quickly. Soon he was one of that steady circle of friends and acquaintances who would gather for coffee at Danzigers at half past ten every morning, holding forth to whoever was around to listen. For a number of years, too, there would be a gathering at his house once a week in the evening for a reading of Dante's *Inferno*, first in Italian, then in English, followed by a discussion. Those attending were young professors from the Departments of English, Romance Languages and others who were interested. Mrs. Sommer pursued her interest in the German poet Stefan George. Clemens Sommer was a total professional, at the same time charming, patient, generous of his time, good company, and popular with everyone.

Most of his work here centered in two places: UNC at Chapel Hill, and Raleigh, where he soon became involved in the long, daring, difficult, and extraordinarily successful campaign to establish a State Museum of Art, the first, so far as I know, in the nation. Unlike some of his countrymen, he wanted to bring this new field, and the wonderful richness of it, to a place where it was new. He was a salesman for it, even to giving an introductory course first on radio, later on TV! Unhappily, I never got to know him too well, since he was killed in an auto accident in 1962 at the age of 69, not long after I came to Chapel Hill and while I was in Europe. His wife, Elizabeth, was badly injured, but survived. This tragic accident separated the Sloane



Clemens Sommer, in center, left of painting with other faculty members and students. [Photo courtesy of Arthur Marks, Art Department, UNC-Chapel Hill]

and Sommer families just as we were getting used to our new surroundings so that we never had a chance to become as close colleagues and friends as we could have been. I remember one detail vividly, however. He suffered severely from asthma, complicated by emphysema. To lessen his discomfort, he smoked a medicinal cigarette called "Asthma-done" which had a strong herbal smell, as well as using a spray which he carried in his pocket. That, too, had a penetrating odor, so that everyone always knew instantly that he was in the building! They were a fine family, but left soon after his death and moved to another part of the state.

Of his scholarship, I will not speak⁴ - it was in medieval German sculpture chiefly, and extensive. A bibliography is attached to this brief account. His work in establishing the department while it was still in Person Hall was highly effective despite the department's meager resources: he and his students had to work behind screens, and it did not yet offer a Ph.D., something about which he dreamed. John Alcott and his other colleagues were friends, and history and studio combined effectively in the early years. The library which was very small - a few thousand volumes in 1939 - grew to 70,000 by his death, and this with limited funds. He and his colleagues laid a firm

foundation during his twenty years with it.

His career as a scholar, however, was by no means the whole of his contribution to North Carolina. In the long and somewhat bizarre history of the founding of the North Carolina Museum of Art, he played an important role, and when, later, I too became involved in it, I became aware just how much his knowledge had contributed. The story is too complex to be recounted here, but had it not been for Germans like W. R. Valentiner, Clemens Sommer, and Justus Bier, the impressive institution now standing in beautifully landscaped grounds on the edge of Raleigh, the property of the people of this state, would never have come to so successful a conclusion. Mrs. Foushee's book, Art in North Carolina (1972)⁵ tells the story with grace, accuracy, and wit. Dr. Sommer gave generously of his time and expertise, especially as a member of the Commission which spent the famous \$1,000,000 legislative appropriation to match the balancing gift of art of equal value from the Kress Foundation. In fact, he personally lobbied Governor Kerr Scott to save the appropriation at one point and in two instances flew back from Europe to participate in highly contentious discussions and to vote on issues which deeply divided the Commission, including the selection of the future director. And later, during the stage at which paintings were being acquired, his knowledge of the world of art dealers in New York City was of great value. He in turn was well known to them, possibly one of the few members of the Commission who were, though various others were by no means innocents. Indeed, these dealers were unprepared for the expertise of the rest of this well-heeled group of unknowns from North Carolina. The New York market, I understand, did not recover from this whirlwind of purchases for some time. ("Where on earth is Raleigh?")

This success may be contrasted with the fate of the ill-starred Black Mountain College at the other end of the state where German artists, this time from the daring and wildly modern Bauhaus school at Dessau, tried to establish European Modernism, in a state quite unprepared to receive it, especially its German form, and the enterprise soon folded. Dr. Sommer may have lectured there in the summer of 1939, but so far as I know was not otherwise involved with that enterprise. Years later,

U.N.C. relented sufficiently to give Josef Albers an honorary degree, but that was after the experiment of Black Mountain College was long over.

Dr. Sommer lived to see the first State Art Museum an actuality in the remodelled Highway Department Building in downtown Raleigh, a highly creditable forerunner of the very modern one on the edge of the city constructed some twenty years later. He played a proud part in that achievement, and the U.N.C. Art Department, too, bears the imprint of his knowledge and devotion. One of the few things for which I am grateful to the Nazis is that they were responsible for this family's coming to North Carolina.

NOTES

1. Some of the personal details and various anecdotes were provided by Maria and Sebastian Sommer of Winston-Salem, and by some of his students, in interviews with Henry Landsberger, one of the editors of this volume.
2. Ola Maie Foushee, *Art in North Carolina*, 1972, Charlotte N.C., Heritage Printer, p. 68-69
3. The anecdote was confirmed by his son, Sebastian Sommer.
4. It is not a branch of the field about which I am competent to judge, but his research reputation was excellent.
5. See Foushee, above

The Arts: Justus Bier, Second Director of the N.C. Museum of Art

by Margret Kentgens-Craig

The first state museum in the United States, the North Carolina Museum of Art, was opened to the public in 1956. Two German art historians served as the first consecutive directors: Dr. Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner from 1955-1958, and Dr. Justus Bier from 1961 to 1970.

How is it that an important public institution in North Carolina, during its formative years, would hire Germans for this influential position? It might not appear a natural choice for a state whose demographic structure at the time alone did not suggest significant receptiveness for influences of German culture. In the visual arts, in architecture and design, aesthetic preferences were clearly dominated by British tradition. Furthermore, at the turn of the century, the United States and Germany had drifted apart politically. The outbreak of war in 1917 and the tense relationship after WW I had cut deeply into the acceptance of German culture in general.¹ The reception became even more unfavorable in the wake of WW II; and in the worsening climate after 1939, a number of immigrant German artists and architects came under — mostly undeserved — suspicion of being subversive collaborators or even spies for the Third Reich. Once established, certain FBI files, such as those on the German architects Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, were kept open through the early fifties, this time for entries regarding so called anti-American activities.

Answers to the question as to why an important public institution in North Carolina would hire two Germans as its first directors, are complex and require an analysis of individual cases within their historic context. In the cases of Valentiner and Bier, the following considerations might help to explain their appointments:

Firstly, between 1941 and 1971, the State of North Carolina



Justus Bier, on right; on left, Consul General representing the President of the German Federation presenting the Commanders Cross of the Order of Merit, 1970

JUSTUS BIER art historian

Justus Bier broadened the museum's programs and attracted the attention of the national media when he focused on sculpture for one of his early shows.

In a later exhibition Bier featured the painter Josef Albers, also a refugee, with his Jewish wife Anni, an outstanding weaver. Josef subsequently became one of the most influential figures in American art and design education.

In another exhibit at the North Carolina Museum of Art, Bier featured Ludwig Mies Van der Rohe, a leading German architect, the last director of the Bauhaus before the forced closure of that institution.

Bier's projects and purchases continued to expand both traditional and modern art at the Museum. He introduced product design to the museum and developed the sculpture collection. Bier's influence helped to renew interest in German art and culture after the end of World War II.

pursued an unusually progressive and pioneering agenda of cultural politics. During a period of merely thirty years, the first state orchestra, the first state school of the arts, the first state agency for the arts on the cabinet level, and the first state art museum were established.² Consequently North Carolina is now frequently being referred to as "the state of the arts." The foundation for the museum was laid in 1947, when - in an act unprecedented in US history - the General Assembly appropriated one million dollars for the purchase of an art collection. The appropriation came about mainly through the efforts of Robert Lee Humber, an international lawyer from Greenville, NC. After his encounters with the European art scene in Paris, he was dedicated to the idea of bringing the art of the great

European masters to his own region and, as president of the North Carolina Art Society, he lobbied for his vision of a prestigious state art museum for years.³

Secondly, already at an early state of planning for the museum, the doors had been opened for a strong European and, in particular, German influence. In 1950, Dr. Clemens Sommer, a German art historian and professor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was invited to the State Art Commission that Governor Scott had appointed.⁴ The commission's plan that the funds would be spent on the purchase of a broad collection of old European master paintings, implied that the museum's directors be experts in this area.

Thirdly, the scholarly profiles of Wilhelm Valentiner and Justus Bier, both being internationally renowned scholars of old European masters with extensive museum experience, correlated with the demands of the new collection. Both had received their degrees from universities in German speaking countries, Valentiner in Heidelberg and Bier in Zürich.

Early in his career, Valentiner had been assistant in one of Europe's most famous museums at the time, the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin.⁵ In the United States, he became a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; later and for more than twenty years, director at the Detroit Institute of Arts, and eventually, director of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California. His extensive publications include works on 17th century Dutch art, the Italian Gothic and Renaissance. He had founded the first art journal in the United States, *Art in America* (1913) and co-edited *Art Quarterly* (1933). At age seventy-five and about to retire from a distinguished career, Valentiner, having been advisor to the North Carolina State Art Commission in 1952 and 1954 in matters of quality and authenticity of purchases, was appointed founding director of the North Carolina Museum of Art in 1955.⁶

His successor Justus Bier had held his first directorship with the prominent Kestner-Society (Kestner-Gesellschaft) and the Kestner- Museum in Hanover, Germany.⁷ In 1937, he emigrated to the United States to teach at the University of Louisville, Kentucky, where he succeeded his friend Richard Krautheimer on a chair in art history. During his twenty-five years there, he

served temporarily as department head, founded the Allen R. Hite Institute, and wrote articles and reviews for the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. In 1961, shortly after moving back to Germany and assuming a teaching position at the University of Würzburg, Bier was appointed Valentiner's successor.

Finally, the commission desired to appoint an art historian to the director's position, who would convey prestige to the young museum. I found complaint in Valentiner's diary that he had been hired merely as a "figurehead." In the mid-fifties, art history was still a young academic discipline in the United States. At the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, classes were first introduced around 1939, by Professor Clemens Sommer. In comparison, art history had been a traditional German academic discipline for more than a century. With the rise of Nazism, more than seventy art historians, either being Jewish or of Jewish ancestry or linked to left-wing politics or to modernism, emigrated to the United States.⁸ Due to what Erwin Panofski, the most influential of the emigré art historians, called "the providential synchronism between the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe and the spontaneous efflorescence of the history of art in the United States," a remarkable expansion of art historical studies took place in the 1930s.⁹

Barely in office, both Valentiner and Bier delivered what they had been hired for. For the opening of the museum in April 1956, Valentiner organized an ambitious and impressive exhibition, titled "Rembrandt and his Pupils." The show reflected his interest in the Dutch master, allowed the museum to present some of its own paintings and thus, demonstrate the nature and quality of the North Carolina collection.¹⁰ This was the first time that an exhibition about the subject was on display in the United States, and the only major event in this country celebrating the 350th anniversary of Rembrandt's birth. It set the standards for the future, attracted immediate attention to the new museum, and laid the foundation for its national and international reputation.¹¹ In 1986, the North Carolina Museum of Art reconnected with Valentiner's accomplishment by dedicating its 30th Anniversary show to *Dutch Art in the Age of Rembrandt*.

While the 1956 Rembrandt exhibition placed the new mu-

seum on the map of the established and traditional museum scene, Valentiner's next significant project signaled his commitment to modernism. In 1958, he organized a comprehensive loan exhibition exclusively dedicated to Ernst Ludwig Kirchner. Kirchner was the foremost representative of German expressionism, the most important German contribution to 20th century painting. By pursuing his goal, with the assistance of curators Ben Williams and James B. Byrnes, Valentiner risked serious arguments with the tradition-minded North Carolina Art Society, closely followed by the local media, but his project was finally accepted.¹² In becoming part of an already ongoing battle between modernists and conservatives in the Raleigh region, Valentiner was supported by some influential donors who were enthusiastic about abstract art, and by Henry Kamphoeffner, dean of the North Carolina State University School of Design, who in 1948, had patterned the new school to some degree after the Dessau Bauhaus and thus pioneered modern design education in the Southeast. The collaboration between the school and the museum led to fruitful common projects beyond Valentiner's tenure.

Contrary to Bier, Valentiner was not a refugee from the Third Reich. However, had he not left Germany a long time before the Nazis seized power, his promotion of modernism would have conflicted with the new cultural politics, and he might have suffered the kind of suppression experienced by many of his friends. While in Detroit in 1937, political events in Germany caught up with him, when he became directly involved in international efforts to save works of so-called "degenerate art." In March 1938, he accepted a shipment of 18 modern paintings from the Galerie Ferdinand Moeller in Cologne, officially designated as "loans" for the Detroit Institute of Arts. Among these was Lyonel Feininger's *The Green Bridge* (1916).¹³ The painting remained in the care of the Institute until 1957, when it was donated to the North Carolina Museum of Art by Maria Moeller-Garny and thus followed Valentiner to Raleigh.¹⁴

Valentiner was granted merely three years in his last position, before his death in 1958. His legacy includes the initiation of the museum's *Art Bulletin*, and the establishment of a strong circle of friends in North Carolina and far beyond. In his will,

he gave to the museum approximately 2,500 books, thus initiating the museum's library. He left part of his fine collection to the museum and, thereby laid the foundation for the extraordinary collection of Expressionist art that the museum possesses today.¹⁵

When Justus Bier succeeded Valentiner, he also began his tenure with an exhibition that addressed a period represented in the North Carolina collection, reflected predominant scholarly interest, and was another first in the United States. At the same time, by focusing on sculpture, Bier's first major project considerably broadened the program that the museum had pursued so far. The 1962 loan exhibition featured the sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider, a significant figure in German late medieval art.¹⁶ The enormous attention that the exhibition attracted from the national media, was justified since some of the significant sculptures had never been on display in the United States before. A precious alabaster group, a depiction of the *Annunciation*, was entrusted to Bier by the director of the Rijksmuseum, in spite of considerable hesitation, as "homage to your museum and to your scientific work on this matter."¹⁷ At the time of the exhibition, the museum did not own any Riemenschneider sculpture but a few years later, would acquire the superb figure of Saint Catherine.¹⁸ Bier's extensive publications about Riemenschneider are basic to anyone studying the artist.

Was there a genuine manifestation of German influence during Valentiner's and Bier's tenure, beyond the grand debut exhibitions that reflected their German-European education and scholarly interests?¹⁹ Being internationally oriented, neither one attempted to establish a museum with emphasis on German art in North Carolina. But in their writing, whether personal or professional, there occurs a striking element of constant reflection upon their personal history in twentieth century Germany, particularly traumatic in Bier's case, and the effects that recent German history had inflicted upon German artists and their work. This close relation between Valentiner's and Bier's lives on the one hand, and their scholarly preferences on the other, reveals their cultural identity more than anything else and is mirrored in their choices and interpretations of German art

exhibitions at the Raleigh museum. From the perspective of the struggles that Bier experienced during the Third Reich, his projects may also be seen as statements of perseverance and final prevalence of what is of true artistic value.

In two individual exhibitions, Bier displayed the work of former members of the Bauhaus, the revolutionary art and design school in Germany that initiated one of the most influential modern movements in the 20th century. One of the events featured the work of the painter Josef Albers, who with his Jewish wife Annie, an outstanding weaver, had emigrated to the United States as early as 1933, in order to teach at the newly founded Black Mountain College in North Carolina. He would soon become one of the most influential figures in American art and design education. In 1967, Josef Albers received an honorary doctoral degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. After his painting "Transmuted" had already been included in a former exhibition at the North Carolina Museum of Art entitled "American Purist Art," Albers was featured by Bier in a comprehensive solo show in 1962.²⁰ In 1970, the artist donated two paintings from his series "Homage to the Square," entitled *New Planting* and *Centered*, to the North Carolina Museum of Art.²¹

The second exhibition featured modern furniture design: chairs and tables by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the leading German architect, who had served as the last director of the Bauhaus. In the late twenties and in addition to his fame as an architect, Mies had become acclaimed for co-pioneering the design of bent tubular steel chairs and tables, many of which have become modern classics. Mies van der Rohe also emigrated to the United States in 1938, to become director of the architecture department at the Armour Institute, later the Illinois Institute of Technology. He is considered one of America's foremost architects and in 1956 he received his first honorary doctorate in America from North Carolina State University.

When the Bauhaus was closed in Berlin in 1933, under the pressure of the ruling National Socialists, Mies, Annie and Josef Albers, and other prominent artists lost their professional environment. The incident clearly signaled the drastic developments to come. Early in 1934, Hitler gave the order for surveil-

lance of the “intellectual and ideological education and training of artists.” In his speech at the 1934 Nuremberg party rally, he banned all forms of modernism. In 1937 Josef Goebbels officially proclaimed what would be pursued as “völkische Kulturpolitik”: Art by Germans for the German people. The politically prescribed art of the Third Reich was exhibited the same year in Munich, in the “Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung.” Simultaneously, and close by, a mammoth traveling exhibition was launched, entitled “Entartete Kunst” - “Degenerate Art” -, defaming and ridiculing some of the most significant German contributions to modern art in this century as Jewish, Bolshevik, and “un-German,” including numerous works by Expressionist and Bauhaus artists.²²

Although neither permanently defined nor consistently executed during the first two years of National Socialist rule, the new policies and their implications forced Bier into an extremely vulnerable position, professionally and personally. The Kestner-Society and Kestner-Museum had helped to pave the way for modern art in Germany,²³ and as their director, Bier had been an outspoken promoter of the avantgarde. His own art collection included works by the Bauhaus painters Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee and Oskar Schlemmer. Bier had published the very first articles about Mies van der Rohe’s Barcelona Pavilion and the Tugendhat House. The apartment in Hanover, where he and his wife Senta lived, was furnished with Bauhaus designed furniture.²⁴ The disparity between such inclinations and the ideology behind the artificial concept of “German” art, in the hackneyed sense of the word, is obvious. When the Nazis started forcefully to remove art from German museums that they had defined as “degenerate,” Bier lost his position. In addition he was Jewish and thus his life was threatened in Germany.

Bier and his family withdrew to a small Bavarian town. A year later he was called to the University of Louisville, Kentucky. As reflected in his writings, the experience of expulsion stayed with him throughout his life, along with his desire to forgive. His first return to post-war Germany took place in 1945 when, invited by the United States government to tour the fifty newly established “Amerikahäuser” in his home country, he took upon himself the role as an ambassador of US-Ameri-

can culture. According to his assistant Inge Witt, he was convinced that post-war Germany had overcome the horrors of the Third Reich and that he would be able to face the Germans without bitterness.²⁵ Shortly after, he moved back to Germany temporarily.

Bier's projects and purchases continued Valentiner's agenda in both, traditional and modern art. In addition, Bier introduced product design to the museum and developed the sculpture collection as a new stronghold. Doing so, he might have laid out the seeds for a future project, an extensive sculpture garden on the grounds of the institution. In 1970, the year of his retirement, the one-millionth visitor stepped into the museum. After approximately 15 years of Valentiner's and Bier's leadership, the North Carolina Museum of Art had become solidly established as an active player among the first rank institutions in this country.

When Valentiner and Bier introduced modern German art to North Carolina, they would not only select some of the most outstanding examples, but also remind viewers of certain qualities within German 20th century culture that the experience and memories of two world wars, dictatorship, and Holocaust had almost buried in the broader US-American perception. Thus, beyond all professional merits and ongoing influence, Valentiner and Bier helped to achieve another goal: regaining interest in German art and culture in the United States. They both shared Lyonel Feininger's hope that art, as an ambassador of German culture, would be able to bridge differences and controversies.²⁶

NOTES

1. Into the early 1920s, German operas were banned from American music halls and German art from museums. Exceptions such as exhibitions featuring Expressionist and Bauhaus painters were limited to small private galleries in New York or on the West Coast. In general, political sensitivities caused American institutions to disregard even famous artists if their names were associated with German culture. Margret Kentgens-Craig, *Bauhaus-Architektur. Die Rezeption in Amerika, 1919-1936*.

2. The "North Carolina Symphony" was established in 1943, the "School of the Arts" in Winston-Salem in 1963, the "North Carolina Department of Art, Culture and History" in 1971 (after 1973: "Department of Cultural Resources"). Explanations for the remarkably progressive cultural politics in post World War II North Carolina may be found in the strong state university system that brought individuals with interest in the arts to the region, the philanthropic leadership of industrial families or affluent individuals, and enlightened or at least receptive governors. In addition, see *Governor James Baxter Hunt, Jr. Papers*, vo. 1, pp. 225-226, 249-250, 571-572.

3. Robert Lee Humber entrusted the purchase of art works to his friend Carl W. Hamilton, a New York art dealer. In addition, Humber had persuaded Samuel H. Kress, the foremost collector of European masterpieces in the country, to meet the state's stipulation for matching funds and to donate works from his collection to the museum.

4. Clemens Sommer (1891-1962) had received his doctoral degree from the University of Freiburg, South Germany. His research focused on late medieval sculpture, in particular the work of Nicolaus Gerhaert van Leyden. The other four members of the commission were Katherine Pendleton Arlington (friend of the museum and donor), Edwin Gill (state treasurer), Clarence Hamilton Poe (editor and chairman for the journal *The Progressive Farmer*), and Robert Lee Humber. Edgar Bowron, *North Carolina Museum of Art. A Brief History*. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1986.

5. Wilhelm Reinhold Valentiner (1880 Karlsruhe, Germany - 1958 New York, NY).

6. At that time, most of the state funds for purchases had been spent.

7. *Dr. Justus Bier, director emeritus, N.C. art museum. News and Observer, Raleigh/NC, 25 Jan. 1990.*

8. See Colin Eisler, *Kunstgeschichte American Style: A Study in Migration*, pp. 544-545. In: B. Bailyn/ D.H. Fleming (ed.'s), *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America, 1930-1960*. Cambridge, Mass. 1969.

9. E. Panofski, *The History of Art as a Humanistic Discipline*.

In: *The Meaning of the Humanities* (ed. Theodore M. Greene, Princeton 1940), pp. 89-118; reprinted in E. Panofski, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. New York 1955.

10. As a young art historian, Wilhelm Valentiner had begun developing a lifelong interest in Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn. At the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, his first professional environment, he had been exposed to one of Europe's most prestigious collections of Rembrandt paintings and his mentor, Wilhelm von Bode, was a recognized Rembrandt scholar. Wilhelm Valentiner himself devoted a significant part of his research and writing to Rembrandt's work. May David Hill, then a graduate of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, assisted Valentiner with the preparations for catalogue and exhibition.

11. *Rembrandt and his Pupils*, 16 Nov. - 30 Dec. 1956. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art.

12. See article *Art Society Opens Meeting Amid Museum Delay Battle. Fight also Looms Between Modern and Conservatives*. Raleigh Times, 30 Nov. 1955.

13. Eberhard Roters, Galerie Ferdinand Moeller. Die Geschichte einer Galerie fuer Moderne Kunst in Deutschland, 1917-1956. Berlin 1984

14. Maria Moeller, letter to W. R. Valentiner, December 27, 1957. Before the transfer could take place, Maria Moeller had to ask permission from the U.S. Government, which had confiscated works of art shipped to the U.S. during the period of the Third Reich.

15. The art work left to the museum includes oil paintings by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Otto Müller, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff; water colors by Max Beckmann, Erich Heckel, Kirchner, and Emil Nolde; gouaches by Max Beckmann, Paul Klee, and Oskar Kokoschka; sculpture by Georg Kolbe, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, Gerhard Marcks, and Richard Scheibe. Information from *Report of the Director*, North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin, vo.6, no.1, p.10.

16. Tilman Riemenschneider Exhibition. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 6 Oct. - 11 Nov. 1962.

17. A. von Schlendel, letter of acceptance to Justus Bier.

18. The Riemenschneider sculpture was acquired from the

New York art market in 1968; its former owner being Franz Haniel, a private collector of late South German Gothic sculpture.

19. Among the objects of German art purchased under Bier was Peter Koellin's late 15th Century lindenwood figure of the "Madonna in a Protective Cloak."

20. "American Purist Art," North Carolina Museum of Art, 6 - 26 Sept. 1961. "Josef Albers," North Carolina Museum of Art, 3 Febr. - 11 March 1966.

21. The museum already possessed two other examples from the "Hommage to the Square" series, plus a different painting and 32 prints by Josef Albers.

22. Under the jurisdiction of Josef Goebbels, president of the Reichskultkammer, a manifesto ("regierungsrichtlinien für Kunst von 1937 im Fünf-Punkte-Manifest" in *Deutscher Kunstbericht*) outlined the new policies: Prohibition of box-shaped architecture; removal of all public sculptures that were not accepted by the German public; Removal from museums and collections of art work revealing international or Bolshevik orientations; Prohibition "Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung." Munich: Haus der Deutschen Kunst. Opening on 18 July 1937. An authentic remake of the 1937 exhibition "Entartete Kunst" was shown in Los Angeles and Berlin in 1991-92, entitled "Entartete Kunst: Das Schicksal der Avantgarde im Nazi-Deutschland." Berlin: Altes Museum, 4 March - 31 May 1992. Exhibition catalogue, pp. 12, 13. The exhibition had been developed by Stephanie Barron for the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and was shown there 17 Febr. -12 May 1991.

23. The "Kestner-Gesellschaft" administered the art collection of the diplomat and art historian Georg August Kestner (1777-1853). The collection served as the basis for the "Kestner-Museum."

24. Senta Diezel Bier (1900, Nuremberg - 1978). Studied art history in München, Zürich and Bonn (Ph.D.), held positions at different German museums and taught as lecturer at North Carolina State University. Author of the catalogue for the exhibition "Collector's Opportunity," North Carolina Museum of Art, 1963.

25. I. Witt, *A Tribute to Justus Bier, Director Emeritus*. North

Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin, vo. 12, no. 4, 1974. See also article *Volume five completes work of a lifetime. Art museum ex-director to be honored.* In: News and Observer, Raleigh, NC, 14 April 1982.

26. L. Feininger, letter to Wilhelm Valentiner, dated 3 May 1923. Quoted in: M. Sterne, *The Passionate Eye*, Detroit 1980, pp 145-149.

The Arts: Edith London, a painter

by Henry A. Landsberger

Edith London - Edith Caspary as she was before her marriage - is a painter, and has lived in Durham ever since she and her husband settled there in 1939. His work, described in greater detail in the chapter dealing with those who were welcomed at Duke University was on the borderline where physics and chemistry meet. Those to whom one speaks about Fritz London very quickly refer to him as a person of Nobel Prize attainments whose work continues to be of undiminished if not increased relevance today, more than forty years after he died.

Edith Caspary, like Alfred Brauer, whose life is described elsewhere in this volume, was born in Berlin and, also like Brauer, was born into a nonacademic family. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Berlin was a potent mixture of overweening new imperial pride on the one hand - which affected the Caspary family little - but, more important, it was a city of great cultural riches and activities. And that was indeed of significance, for both parents were great lovers of the arts.

There were concerts and operas and since her parents loved music, the family would often attend dress rehearsals of the Berlin Philharmonic on Sunday mornings. There was theater and the public reading of poetry, a highly-valued artistic skill to which Edith was intensely attracted and in which she took lessons during her last year in high school and afterwards. And, of most significance for the future of a painter, then as now there were outstanding museums of art in Berlin which were within walking distance of the Caspary home. Her mother sketched; and there were advanced lessons in high school not only in sketching and painting but also in art history. Could there have been any high school on this side of the Atlantic at that time which offered during eleventh and twelfth grade a two-year course on "Italian architecture in the late Renaissance"? It is in this ambience that Edith London grew up.

EDITH LONDON painter

Another of the emigrés who found refuge in North Carolina was Edith London, a painter who came to Durham with her husband, Fritz, in 1939.

As a young woman living in Berlin she became committed to the world of art through visiting the many fine museums of that city and her mother's commitment to art. Edith not only painted but studied art history.

Family finances prevented her from pursuing her career full-time and it was only after her marriage to Fritz London that she was able to develop her own artistic skills.

As the years went by, Edith London gained increasing recognition for her creativity not only in North Carolina but nationally. Her work appears in many museums and private collections.

But just as Alfred Brauer's life was hard in the post World War I twenties so, too, was Edith's. The umbrella factory which her father owned and ran was in financial trouble and she had to take over as full-time office manager and bookkeeper immediately after graduating from high school. That meant that classes in public reading - the future profession she had then chosen for herself - would have to be taken not full-time during the day, as would have been customary for a young upper-middle-class woman in those days, but at night, in addition to her work.

But that changed after she married Fritz London in 1929. They had met at a ball a year earlier, in 1928 and, as luck would have it, he had just been honored by Max Planck, already a famous physicist at the time, to take over one of his weekly lecture courses at the University in Berlin. Since these lectures were given in the late afternoon, he could come to the Caspary home for supper afterwards. At the end of that year, Edith and



Edith London, in her studio in Durham, NC [Photo: Steffen Giersch, 1994, Dresden, Germany]

Fritz were sure that they were meant for each other. After her marriage she was once again able to devote herself full-time to a variety of art history, and to sketching and painting classes at the University. But soon, her art-studio teacher urged her to concentrate entirely on developing her own creative skills as an artist - "to work from dawn to dusk" on painting above all - because it was her ability to paint which distinguished her, though she first misunderstood it as a criticism of her as yet underdeveloped skills. But her husband, in the kind of support that would characterize their relationship throughout their married life, reinforced her teacher's advice, saying that he had hoped someone would tell her so, because he, too, had the same feeling about her potential as a painter, and wanted her to concentrate her artistic life on painting. She joined the Association of Berlin Women Artists (Verein der Berliner Kuenstlerinnen) where she soon formed the kinds of warm friendships which has characterized her entire personal life.

From then on, a devotion to painting marked that part of her life that was not devoted to husband and, later, also to her children. And studying art history became for her, not an activity separate from painting, but a part of her approach to her own creative work. She studied the work of others, and the words and thoughts of artists she respected in order to understand what they tried to achieve, and how their styles were related to these aims. In the twenties and early thirties, this meant in particular studying the works of the German expressionists like Franz Marc and August Macke, who were then beginning to come into their own in the major Berlin museums. As Margaret Kentgens-Craig has noted in her essay in this volume: our own North Carolina Museum of Art has an unusually strong collection of German expressionists because its first two directors were Germans. In any case, this very studious and reverent approach to the art of others has been a characteristic of Edith London throughout her life. She was, and remains much influenced by Braque's dictum that "One should not imitate what one wants to create," but she adds to that principle that such creation imposes also a responsibility to preserve the aesthetic. For if the creation is not in some way beautiful, then what is it. She still studies what others have done, and lets it echo within herself

against what she strives to do.

When Fritz London left Berlin in 1933 to join a group of fellow-refugee scientists in Oxford, soon also including his brilliant brother Heinz, Edith had to interrupt her formal training. But she continued to paint and, despite some very unpleasant health problems, made frequent visits not only to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but above all to the magnificent museums of London. The move to Oxford by the Londons and several other German chemists and physicists, both Jewish and non-Jewish, had been organized by a representative sent to Germany by Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) as soon as it became known that several of Germany's outstanding scientists needed and wanted to leave Hitler's Germany. ICI wanted, for its own benefit, to encourage and take advantage of that potential brain-drain and financed the research of several of such scientists at Oxford.

In 1936, when Dr. London accepted what seemed likely to become a more permanent position at the Collège de France in 1936 and the couple moved to Paris, Mrs. London was once again able to study under two great teachers and painters: Marcel Gromaire and André Lhôte. To the latter, she returned for studies in the early 1950's. But from that early Paris period onwards, she would never cease painting - at a lesser pace while children were growing up and later, while she had to earn her living after her husband's death in 1954, but steadily throughout. And again she formed friendships there. One of these, with a woman some twenty years her junior and painting in a very different, El Grecco-like style, and her husband, a brilliant musician, both from Eastern Europe, would be of great moral support to her at another stage in her artistic life. In the late 1950's, when she wanted to devote herself increasingly to painting, Nadja and Leon Temerson - who had survived the holocaust and had come to the United States after the war - welcomed her each summer for several weeks first to a place available to them on Long Island and later to Cape Cod, where they rented a home together. It was the period when Edith changed toward a more abstract style. Sketching and painting separately during the day, but coming together with Nadja during the evening to comment on each others' work, provided support and stimulation for both of them.

But that was some twenty years later. In the late thirties, under the threat of war and despite their love of France and the French colleagues who had welcomed them so warmly, it became clear, first to their colleagues who helped them in many ways, then to the Londons themselves, that they needed to move for a third time. Fritz London was invited to visit Hebrew University. Chaim Weitzman, the world leader of Zionism at the time but also a chemist, on learning that London's future colleagues in Jerusalem had made it clear that they would expect him to be ready to lecture in Hebrew within a year, advised him not to accept since it would mean too great a diversion of London's energy from his own creative work, having already had to learn first English, then French. An interesting reflection on the complex character of Chaim Weizman, showing him to be both a dedicated scientist and a man of humane instincts, as well as the outstanding Zionist of his time in the diaspora.

The couple in fact moved to Duke University, where Professor Paul M. Gross, Chairman of Duke's Department of Chemistry, always on the look-out to strengthen the department by opening positions for promising young scholars, had made an offer to London of a position at Duke early in their acquaintance. He had become aware of London at various conferences in Europe, beginning as early as a Heisenberg Seminar in Leipzig in 1929. But Gross had thought it wisest not to press the offer and allow Fritz to take time to make up his mind: a strategy which obviously paid off. During a first visit to Duke, in early 1939, Edith had to stay behind in Paris on doctor's orders: she was pregnant with her first child, Frank, who was born in Paris in the spring of 1939. The visit, and the growing threat of war, now persuaded Fritz London to accept a professorship in the department. The Londons were able to leave France very early in September 1939. When they arrived here, the war's full fury had consumed Poland.

It did not take long for Edith London to find kindred spirits in what must have appeared to her, at first glance, a place at the other end of the world. There existed in Durham, in the 1940's, the "Three Arts Club," an informal group of women who either painted, wrote or played an instrument, and they asked

Edith London to join them soon after her arrival. And Edith and her husband, both lovers and performers of classical music, were charter members of the Chamber Arts Society. Clearly, there was already in existence in Durham a group of persons keenly interested in the arts and eager to further enrich the artistic and cultural life of Durham who welcomed the newcomers to mutual benefit. The arrival of the Londons and others, from European cities in which such groups played a major role in the artistic life of communities, gave further impetus to a development which was already under way in this state.

Nor was Edith London's influence limited to those interested in art. She presented a paper at the panel on "The Artist in Crisis" during a three-day symposium on "Cross-currents in Contemporary Life: A Commentary by Women" held at Duke University March 13-15, 1963. Margaret Mead, the anthropologist, was among the roster of distinguished contributors to various other parts of the symposium, and is known to have complimented Edith London quite especially on her contribution. These were the years, after her husband's death in 1954, which were far from easy ones, especially financially. Survivors' pensions from academic employers were in those days either low or non-existent; and the Londons received very little by way of restitution from Germany. Duke's Department of Art created a special position for her to use her expertise in the history of art and she dedicated herself to enriching a slide collection covering the entire range of art - a task she loved and at which she continued until her retirement in 1965.

And beyond Durham, Edith London established links with individuals and institutions whose lives and existence revolved around the arts. She became friendly with Wilhelm Valentiner, the first director of the North Carolina Museum of Art, with Ben Williams who during those years was responsible for the Museum's collection of modern art, but above all, with its second director and his wife, Justus and Senta Bier who, like her, were refugees from Nazi Germany. Senta Bier was one of many art critics who, from the mid-1960's onward, wrote about Edith's work.¹ Others with like interests were teaching at the N.C. School of Design and with them, too, she established friendly contacts, as well as with artists who taught at the University in

Chapel Hill.

The group of those in our State who appreciate her work and support it has been renewed from those early years onwards. It currently includes, above all, Joseph Rowand, Director of Summerhill Gallery in Chapel Hill and Marita Gilliam whose gallery is in Raleigh. It was they who saw to it that her work was properly and more widely recognized, as it was when she represented the arts among those receiving "The North Carolina Award" from then Governor James Martin in 1988. Summerhill Gallery, too, forwarded her work to the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in New York so that she was one of two artists selected to represent North Carolina in the annual competition, in 1990. The Academy subsequently presented one of her paintings to North Carolina State University's School of Design. Her paintings are now to be found in various museums in this state, as well as in private collections in North America, Australia and Europe. On the initiative of the mayor of Berlin, the city of her birth, there was an exhibition of her paintings in 1971. In this country, she has had almost a score of solo exhibition, and her pictures are in lively demand without her ever having sought fame or a market. At ninety years of age and more, she essentially paints to further her own growth as an artist.

The relation of both Edith and Fritz London to Judaism are worthy of notice, because its range, complexity and changing nature is typical of that of many German Jews - and probably to some extent of American Jews as well. Fritz had been baptized as a child at the insistence of his father to protect the boy (in vain, of course) from the kind of discrimination which had resulted in the father's being promoted to a full professorship in mathematics at Bonn University much later than was justified. But Fritz rejoined once he arrived in America and saw to it that the two children participated in the life of the then main synagogue in the area, Beth El. Edith, however, while not coming from a highly observant household, was bat-mitzva'd (roughly: the Jewish equivalent to confirmation) in Berlin's famous synagogue in the Oranienburger Strasse and her uncle was president of one the Berlin Jewish community's main social service agencies - again, without being particularly observant. Here, they

were among the small group of persons who helped Rabbi Ephraim Rosenzweig establish Judea Reform Temple in the early 1950's. The Londons were among those many outstanding Jewish artists, scientists and those distinguished in other fields who have an uneasy relationship with the doctrinal and ritual aspects of Judaism without it ever occurring to them to deny their Jewish background and its influence on them.

One final human note: Alfred Brauer, whose history is described elsewhere in this volume, and Fritz London knew each when both had been assistants to distinguished professors in Berlin in the late twenties and early thirties. When the Brauers arrived here in 1941, the friendship was quickly reestablished, and, including their children, has lasted for a further fifty years. But their circle of friends and acquaintances extended beyond that to include, among many others, the Manasses, also described elsewhere in this volume, as well as Dr. Cecil Sheps and his wife Mendel, distinguished academics in the field of Public Health, and it soon included the younger generation of mathematicians, physicists and chemists. Edith London has continued the tradition established by both of maintaining a very wide circle of friends.

NOTES

1. Bier, Senta, "Notes on two North Carolina Artists", The Long View Journal, Winter 1968, pp.50-53. For other references to Edith London's work, see the "Selected Bibliography" in Edith London: Collages, a catalogue published by the North Carolina Museum of Art to accompany an exhibition of her work October 22, 1988-January 8, 1989.

Black Mountain College and its Cosmopolitan Faculty

by Mary Emma Harris

One can only imagine the feelings of anticipation and anxiety which Josef and Anni Albers felt as they traveled by Southern Railway from New York to Black Mountain College in the fall of 1933. Refugees from Hitler's Germany, they had spent several days in New York where they were greeted by Philip Johnson and others from the Museum of Modern Art, who had recommended them to the college. They celebrated their first Thanksgiving in Brooklyn with the family of Theodore Dreier, a college founder.

Unlike many who felt they could live with Fascism, Josef and Anni Albers were eager to leave Germany soon after Hitler's rise to power. The Nazis had forced the Bauhaus, the school of architecture and design which Walter Gropius had founded in 1919 and where Josef Albers had been first a student and then a teacher, to close in the summer of 1933. Although Albers disavowed any association with the Communist factions that had dominated the school in the later years, the City Council of Dessau had informed him that "you did and do not now offer any guarantees that you will at all times and without reserve stand up for the National State."¹ Anni Albers was a member of the prominent Ullstein publishing family which had converted to Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. Nevertheless, she was well aware of the "racial" nature of the Nazis' discrimination against the Jews and was eager to leave. Albers later recalled that he was "afraid to go, but glad to leave... no pumpernickel, such red and green drinks in America. All I knew was Buster Keaton and Henry Ford. I spoke no English."² On his arrival in New York, Josef Albers (with Anni Albers as translator) told reporters, "...in this country at last [I] will find a free atmosphere.... [A]rt must have freedom in which to grow, and that is no longer possible in Germany. There a professor must teach only the art that the government thinks is forwarding the

BLACK MOUNTAIN COLLEGE

A dispute over educational philosophy at Rollins College in Florida gave birth to Black Mountain College. It was founded by Johan Andrew Rice in 1933 in the mountains of western North Carolina.

The curriculum of the college was oriented towards the uniqueness of individuals, where open and honest dialogue would be pivotal not only to pedagogy but to living and working together in community; and where faculty and student representatives would make the decisions. No unwieldy administrative, trustee-controlled system would hamper the free interchange between instructor and student.

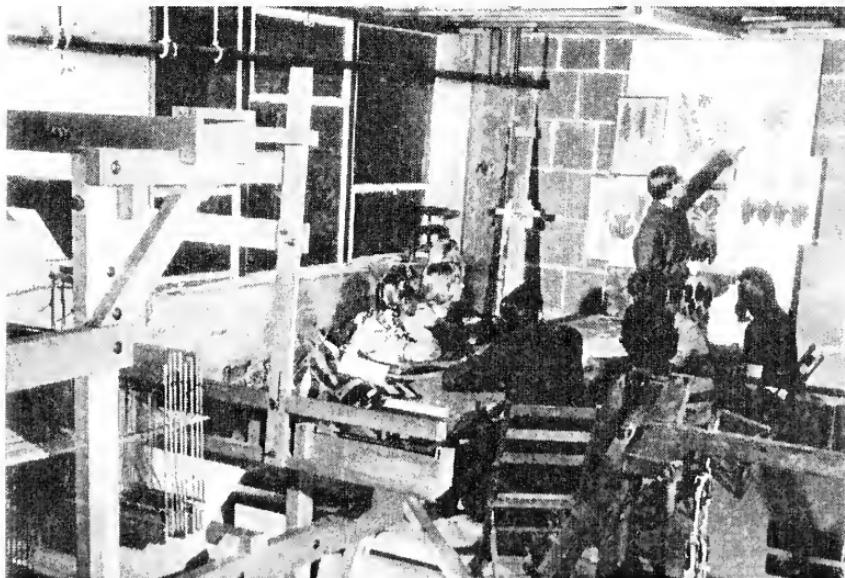
Black Mountain College was the least orthodox college of its time, and influential out of proportion to its short life (it closed its doors in 1956) and the size of its enrollment, which never went above 75. Rice had infused it with egalitarian principles which remained a strong force during its existence. It was the first "biracial" college in the South. The college attracted world class instructors but sadly was never accredited.

German ideal of government."³

The founders of Black Mountain College shared Albers' concern with academic and artistic freedom. The authoritarian administration at Rollins College had been a key issue in the dispute that led to the firing of John Andrew Rice and others who defended him in the spring of 1933, and when Rice and his colleagues opened Black Mountain College six months later in Robert E. Lee Hall of the Blue Ridge Assembly buildings south of Black Mountain, North Carolina, faculty control of academic matters was central to its organization. The college, which was owned and administered by the faculty, was a democratic community. There were no trustees and no endowment, and a student was a member of the governing Board of Fellows. Through

community life and practical application of academic subjects, learning and living were intimately bound. Ideas and thinking processes were as important as information, and the whole student - head, heart and hand - was educated. Of great importance to the college's history and influence, the arts were the center of the curriculum, rather than on the periphery.

Unlike many refugees who complained of the limitations of American culture or of diminished academic or professional status, Josef Albers showed a remarkable ability to adapt. While still in Germany, he had written to the new college that he was excited "ueber die junge organisation ihres institutes und seine lebendigen absichten" ("by the youthful nature of your institution and its lively purposes." Note that Albers deliberately did not capitalize German nouns) and that he was glad he would once again be teaching in a modern school.⁴ On his arrival at the college, when asked what he hoped to accomplish, he responded, "To make open the eyes,"⁵ referring to a curriculum based on the education of visual perception. Despite his inability to speak English, he began teaching immediately. His classes gave form and discipline to the founders' vaguely defined role for the arts in education, and under his leadership the college avoided the general permissiveness and undirected self-expression



Josef Albers, leaf design classes at Black Mountain College [North Carolina Division of Archives and History]



Anni Albers, weaving instructor, rolling up thread at Black Mountain College, 1940 [North Carolina Division of Archives and History]

that had come to dominate the arts in progressive education. The courses in color and design which adapted the foundation courses of the Bauhaus to general education became prototypes for American art education.

As an artist, Josef Albers showed an equal ability to adapt. When facilities to continue the sand-blasted glass paintings on which he had been working in Germany were not available, he turned instead to oil, creating a group of exploratory, non-geometric paintings unlike his later work. Through his many exhibitions and lectures, Black Mountain College was from its beginning associated with modern art. He was an outspoken advocate for abstract painting - Geometric Abstraction, in particular - and a founding member of the American Abstract Artists, with whom he exhibited. For the 1938 Bauhaus exhibition organized by the Museum of Modern Art, Albers guided Black Mountain students in the re-creation of Bauhaus studies, and there was a section in the curriculum at Black Mountain which further recognized the college's role as heir to Bauhaus teaching.

Despite the isolation of the college, Albers was an influen-

ANNI ALBERS

weaver

Anni Fleigemann was born in Berlin in 1899. Her family was part of the prominent Ullstein publishing clan. From 1922 through 1930 she studied at the Bauhaus school under Paul Klee, among others, and in 1931 she was put in charge of the weaving section of the Bauhaus.

When she arrived in the United States with her husband Josef in 1933, she was appointed Professor of Art at Black Mountain College in North Carolina, and taught there until 1949.

The work of Anni Albers emphasized horizontal and vertical lines, clear structure, and sublime coloring. Her own textile designs and weavings brought her many honors and honorary degrees from various American and Canadian institutions. She advocated that weavers be included as designers for industrial production. Albers' work has been exhibited extensively in the U.S. and Germany. She died in 1994.

tial presence in the state of North Carolina, lecturing and conducting seminars at other colleges and universities. In 1943, the first decade of Josef and Anni Albers' presence in North Carolina was celebrated with a "Two-Albers Exhibition" which traveled to locations in North Carolina and Georgia. Albers participated in the annual competitions sponsored by the North Carolina Art Society which noted on his leaving that "Art circles in North Carolina suffer a distinct loss in the resignation of Josef and Anni Albers, who have been at Black Mountain College for 16 years, having come in 1932 [1933] from the Bauhaus...."⁶

Only Josef Albers was given the official appointment that made their immigration possible, Anni Albers, who had studied and taught weaving and textile design at the Bauhaus, started teaching immediately as an instructor.⁷ Since a loom was not



Josef Albers, lecturing on his work in Person Hall, 1949 [Photo courtesy of Arthur Marks, Art Department, UNC-Chapel Hill]

available, she devised basic studies in textile appearance and texture using found materials which later became part of her weaving curriculum. An articulate spokesperson for the social responsibility of the weaver as designer for industrial production, her weaving curriculum introduced the student to contemporary fibers and taught a vocabulary of weaving structures. She respected the local weaving tradition and made no effort to convert the mountain weavers to her chosen direction.

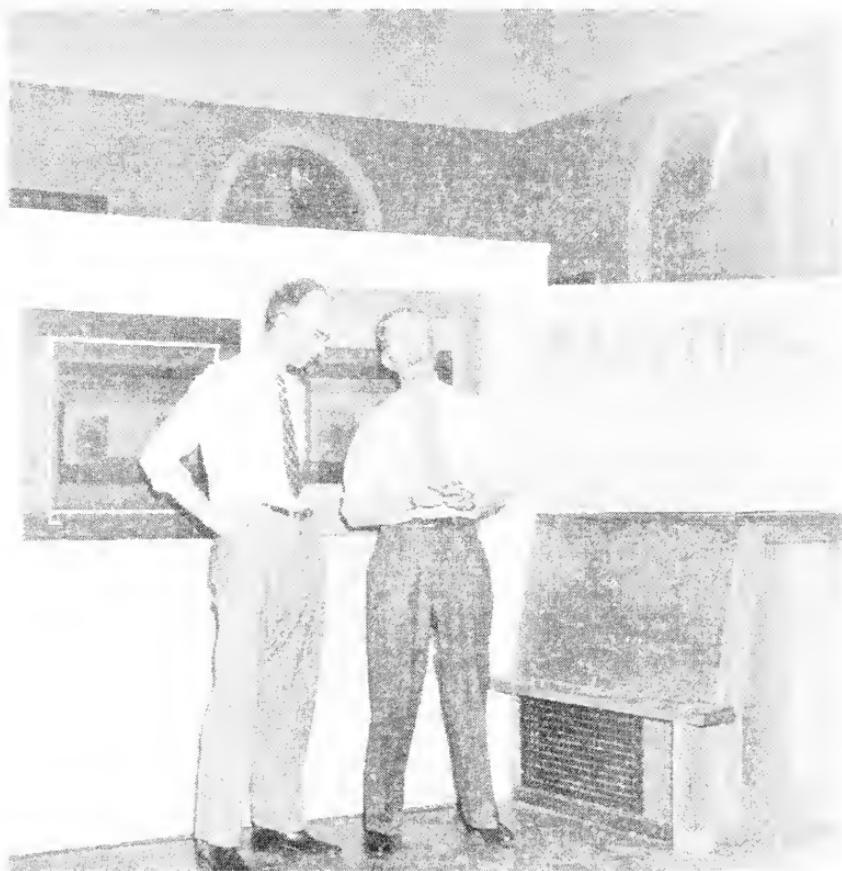
Aware of their good fortune in having asked the Josef and Anni Albers, the college opened its doors to other refugees. The first asked were friends of the Alberses. In 1935, Fritz Moellenhoff, a psychiatrist who had been assistant director of the Sanatorium Westend in Berlin-Charlottenburg, his wife Anna, also a psychiatrist, and their two daughters arrived, and in 1936, Alexander (Xanti) Schawinsky, artist, dramatist and former Bauhaus student, who had escaped to Italy, and his wife Irene made their way to the small college. Foundations and organizations that were established to find positions for those fleeing Hitler, aware of the willingness of Black Mountain College to accept refugees, and pressed them to take others. Although a two-year appointment to an academic institution enabled refugees to enter the United States on a non-quota basis, many schools refused to accept them because of competition with American teachers for tenured positions, fear of difficult personalities and prejudice.

Despite its exemplary role in the refugee crisis, Black Mountain was not without its own reservations. At some point during the 1930s, there was a concern that too many European refugees would alter the essentially American character of the college as an experiment in education. A quota was set - significantly for Jews, not refugees - although it is not clear just what the quota was or whether it was ever enforced. In 1941, Nathan Rosen, an American-born Jew who taught physics, resigned in indignation upon hearing that such a quota existed.⁸ Within the small community, prejudices or stereotypes which might have existed on the part of Americans or Europeans quickly dissolved as strangers became beloved friends and colleagues. It is significant that during the war when many young Americans had left, the teachers were fifty percent refugees, most of whom

were Jewish.

For all of the refugees, the flight for their lives and their separation from a culture and from professional careers and positions which they valued was traumatic. Anna Moellenhoff, a Jew, recalled many years later that "The two years in Germany under the Nazis remain a nightmare."⁹ The refugees left behind not only possessions but family and friends whose destinies would not be known until after the war. Some who had left early or legally had been able to bring possessions, while others had escaped only with their lives, leaving behind family photographs, libraries, manuscripts and homes. Max Wilhelm Dehn, former Professor of Mathematics at the University of Frankfurt, had been arrested on Kristallnacht in November 1938 and escaped through Scandinavia and across Russia. Heinrich Jalowetz, former conductor of the Cologne Opera who had been dismissed in the "non-Aryan purge,"¹⁰ and his wife Johanna, fled from country to country until they were able to leave under a quota since they held Czech passports. Because of Jalowetz's appointment at Black Mountain, their daughter Lisa was able to escape through Holland as a student under a preferred quota. Fritz Cohen, co-founder of the Jooss Ballet and composer of *The Green Table*, and his wife Elsa Kahl, a dancer and soloist with the Ballet, were on a tour in South America when England, which had been the Ballet's refuge, entered the war, and they could not return. After an eighteen-month extended tour, they were able to enter the United States, but their status with the immigration authorities was not certain.

Refugees arriving at Black Mountain found themselves in a unique, protective community which embodied characteristics of a small experimental college, a summer camp, a religious retreat, a farm school and an extended family. Trude Guermonprez, a weaver and the older Jalowetz daughter, recalled that the college "...was sort of like a big family... a little too protective because you faced the reality of the outside world always with the framework of Black Mountain." She recalled that she only really arrived in America after she left the college.¹¹ Unlike those who settled in cities or large universities, the Black Mountain refugees found themselves amongst others who shared their language, destiny and concerns. Modest hous-



Josef Albers, in center with John Allcott on left in Person Hall, 1949. Albers paintings, Homage to the Square, on back panel [Photo courtesy of Arthur Marks, Art Department, UNC-Chapel Hill]

HEINRICH JALOWETZ

musician

Heinrich Jalowetz was born in 1882 in Brunn, now the Czech Republic.

He was one of Schoenberg's first pupils, and was the first conductor of the opera in Cologne. When he was dismissed in the "non-Aryan" purge galloping through Germany, he fled with his wife, and taking a circuitous route finally ended up in the United States. He taught music at the Black Mountain College in North Carolina from 1939 until his death in 1946.

ing was provided in Lee Hall and later in the cottages at Lake Eden, and faculty, families and students ate together in the dining hall. Gretel Lowinsky recalled that she and Edward Lowinsky were thankful for the \$25 per month per person which they received and for the additional \$25 that came with the birth of each of their children.¹² In addition, the college provided for special needs. When Edward Lowinsky's sister was released from Belsen-Bergen, the college sent \$25 to \$125 a month to help with her hospitalization and transportation to the United States.¹³ On the night of Heinrich Jalowetz's sudden death of a heart attack, the Board of Fellows met immediately to appoint Johanna Jalowetz, who had been teaching voice and bookbinding as an instructor, to the faculty, thus assuring her of a home at the college. An ever-present concern for the American faculty was the fate of the refugees if the college, whose existence was always precarious, should be forced to close.

Despite their shared destiny, the refugees had in common only that they had fled Europe to protest Fascism or save their lives, and their reactions to the college were equally disparate. They were of differing personalities, religions, professional and financial status, and ages. Both Heinrich Jalowetz and Max Dehn were beloved father figures, and both died and were buried at the college. As an expression of their love and appreciation the students and faculty built a house for the Jalowetzes at Lake



Heinrich Jalowetz, with John Evarts, left to right, respectively

Eden with space for a grand piano and rows of shelves for his music scores. Josef Albers was a private person and protective of the little time he had for his painting, and his most profound relationship to the students was in the classroom. His studio was off limits except by invitation. Erwin Straus, who had been a professor on the medical staff at the University of Berlin and editor of Nervenarzt, was authoritarian and traditional in his teaching methods although his students later appreciated the foundation he gave them for future study. Gretel Lowinsky recalled that the refugees did not form a group at the college, but instead formed friendships with both Americans and Europeans whose company they enjoyed.¹⁴ In the many schisms within the community, they often were divided in their positions and support of the warring factions.

Fritz Moellenhoff, who had never taught before and was unaware of the type of community he was entering, later observed that "... one had to make an adaptation to a new country. So that this task of adapting to it simultaneously is so engrossing, [it requires] so much attention and energy, that one didn't have time to observe details as they were."¹⁵ Trude Guermonprez remembered "... it was a shock... the new country, the new language, the new environment, everything."¹⁶

Gretel Lowinsky recalled that she was unaccustomed to the equality and comradery between faculty and students, although she liked it very much. She was shocked to find faculty debating the acceptable length of shorts for students.¹⁷ It was unsettling initially for many of the refugees to find themselves called by first names or affectionate nicknames or to teach in a community where authority was never respected for its own sake. There was little privacy and faculty were expected to help with the work program. In the spring of 1944, when Edward Lowinsky was working on the summer music institute, he challenged the concept of work which encompassed only physical labor and asserted that his work on the summer program should fulfill this requirement. He further pointed out that it was difficult for him to play the piano after heavy manual labor.¹⁸ Johanna Jalowetz was a "Jewish mother" to the community, teaching more than voice and bookbinding to her students. Teas at the Jalowetz house to listen to the Saturday afternoon Texaco opera broadcasts were a treasured tradition. Frederic Cohen appreciated the mountain landscape and autumn colors but had little sympathy with progressive education, the food or the inefficient administration. Josef Albers had pumpernickel sent from New York, maintained a very neat vegetable garden near his cottage (which also had cactuses) and complained about disorderliness on the campus and immodest dress by the students. Fritz Hansgirg, inventor of the carbothermic magnesium reduction process who was the only "enemy alien" at the college, let the community use his grand piano, his organ, his photographic equipment and his extensive record collection of operas. One of the few faculty who had any money, he also provided champagne and strawberries for special celebrations. During the war he supervised the construction and operation of a mica mine to extract mica, a strategic war material. Max Dehn, having lost everything, realized the temporal nature of physical possessions, chose to live simply. Students treasured quiet walks with him in the woods where he could identify rare and beautiful wild-flowers. For the Renaissance music scholar, Edward Lowinsky, the lack of a research library was a serious limitation. Trudi Straus, Edward and Gretel Lowinsky and Heinrich Jalowetz performed for Saturday night concerts and for the college's

weekly broadcast on WWNC, and Gretel Lowinsky and Trudi Straus were members of the North Carolina Symphony Orchestra. Unaware of racial segregation in the South, the refugees found themselves embroiled in debates over the college's decision to integrate. For the older refugees who had little hope of attaining the prominence of their former positions, the college was home; for those who were younger, it was a halfway house, a place to be during the war while anti-German sentiment was pervasive.¹⁹

In addition to the many refugees who were members of the faculty, others were asked to teach at the special summer sessions in the arts. In 1943, the college sponsored a Seminar on America for Foreign Scholars, Teachers and Artists to help refugees adjust to American culture and living. The 1944 Summer Music Institute, a celebration of Arnold Schoenberg's seventieth birthday, was possibly the most important gathering of refugee Schoenberg musicians and scholars to take place in the United States. Among the refugee artists to teach at the art summer sessions were Lyonel Feininger, Ossip Zadkine, Amedée Ozenfant and Walter Gropius.²⁰

John Stix, a student who later attended Yale, observed that there is no comparison between "close exposure to great teaching in an informal community environment and Ivy League exposure to great teaching."²¹ Learning and the relationship between faculty and student at Black Mountain were not confined to the classroom; it took place while repairing a road, digging a ditch or building a house. In 1943-44, the sixty students had as refugee faculty Heinrich Jalowetz, Fritz Cohen and Edward Lowinsky in music; Erwin Straus in psychology; Elsa Kahl in dance; Franziska de Graaff in foreign languages; Fritz Hansgirg in physics and chemistry; Josef Albers in art; and Anni Albers in weaving. Like Albers, the eminent professors and artists, many of whom had never before taught, found it necessary to adapt their teaching to the Black Mountain community. Max Dehn devised a course Mathematics for Artists. Trude Guermonprez recalled that, although Heinrich Jalowetz found the schisms at the college deeply disturbing, it seemed in letters from her father that the association with students had been rejuvenating for him.²²

For those whose idealism had been shattered by World War II and the Holocaust, the college became a symbol of hope and spiritual renewal. Heinrich Jalowetz observed that in Europe, America was associated with quantitative things, a land of “unlimited possibilities.... [W]e primarily imagine that here in America also houses of 100 floors can be built and, that one who today is cleaning shoes in the street, to-morrow may be a millionaire.”²³ He noted that at Black Mountain he had learned to “know that in America there are also spiritual qualitative things our European wisdom of schools and newspapers does not dream of.”²⁴ In another essay he compared Black Mountain to “variations on a theme we can never express in a dogma or a neatly worded phrase, a theme we know only by implication. Somehow, we understand it; we recognize it, knowing that if it did not exist, we could not live in this world.”²⁵ Josef Albers frequently presented the Black Mountain democratic community as an education that fostered the “creative and critical mind [that] cannot belong to masses, the indispensable pedestal of any kind of dictators.”²⁶

In a lecture written for the college in 1942, Jalowetz observed, “We are living at a time only to be compared with the convulsions of the great migrations of peoples in those dark times when great cultures died and were ground by the steps of barbaric hordes into amorphous fertilizer for future generations, young cultures.”²⁷ Though small and impoverished, Black Mountain College reacted to the cry for help with wisdom and compassion, thus lessening the tragedy of the Holocaust and enriching the legacy of shared knowledge and experience. Clearly, the college’s contribution is an important chapter in the story of the cultural transformation which took place in the United States through the teaching of refugees from Hitler’s Germany.

NOTES

1. The City Council of Dessau to Josef Albers, 15 June 1933, in The Bauhaus: Weimar Dessau Berlin Chicago, Hans Wingler, ed. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1969), 188.
2. Neil Welliver, “Albers on Albers,” Art News 64 (January

1966):51.

3. "Art Professor, Fleeing Nazis, Here to Teach," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 26 November 1933, p. 8A.
4. Josef Albers to Theodore Dreier, 16 October 1933 (copy), Yale University Library, New Haven. English translation from the Theodore Dreier Papers.
5. Taped statement by Barbara Dreier for the Black Mountain College Reunion, October 1995.
6. News of Art (Newsletter of the North Carolina Art Society) 2/10, Summer 1949.
7. Often the spouse (usually the wife) of a new faculty member initially taught as an instructor who was not a member of the college corporation. An official appointment to the faculty depended on the professional qualifications and the college's need to fill a particular position. Anni Albers was appointed to the faculty in 1934.
8. Black Mountain College Papers.I.3.26,280, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh.
9. Anna Moellenhoff, Eulogy for Fritz Moellenhoff.
10. Heinrich Jalowetz to John Evarts, 5 May 1939, Black Mountain College Papers.III.2.
11. Interview with Trude Guermonprez, Black Mountain College Collection, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History. Trude Guermonprez was married to Paul Guermonprez, a publisher of avant-garde literature and a photographer. A member of the Dutch Resistance, he was captured and killed. She was in hiding during the war. In 1947, an appointment as a consultant in production weaving enabled her to join her mother at the college.
12. Telephone interview with Gretel Lowinsky, November 1995.
13. Black Mountain College Papers, I.4.308; I.5.103, 192.
14. Telephone interview with Gretel Lowinsky, November 1995.
15. Interview with Fritz Moellenhoff, Black Mountain College Collection.
16. Interview with Trude Guermonprez, Black Mountain

College Collection.

17. Telephone interview with Gretel Lowinsky, November 1995.

18. Faculty Meeting, 21 March 1944, Black Mountain College Papers.I.10.Faculty Meeting Notes (July, 1943-June, 1944).

19. Many of the younger refugees later had prominent careers in the United States. Frederic Cohen was director of the Juilliard Opera Theater; Edward Lowinsky, Ferdinand Schevill Distinguished Service Professor of Music at the University of Chicago; Erwin Straus, Director of Clinical Psychology at the Veterans Hospital in Lexington Kentucky; Josef Albers, Chairman of the Department of Design at Yale University; and Fritz Moellenhoff, psychiatrist at the Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis.

20. The refugee presence at Black Mountain was significant throughout its history. Even after the war the college continued to hire refugees who had been unhappy in other positions. Among those to teach after the war, besides Max Dehn and Trude Guermonprez, were musicians Charlotte Schlesinger, Erwin Bodky and Stefan Wolpe; chemist Natasha Goldowski and her mother Madame Anna Goldowski; and anthropologist Paul Leser. As early as December 1940, the college issued a paper listing twenty-eight refugees from Germany, Spain and other dictatorships whom it had helped to enter the United States or to whom it had given shelter. (See "Refugees whom Black Mountain has helped to become established in the United States; as of December 18, 1940," Black Mountain College Papers.II.35.Refugees). In addition many refugees enrolled at the college as students.

21. Interview with John Stix, Black Mountain College Collection.

22. Interview with Trude Guermonprez.

23. Heinrich Jalowetz, handwritten lecture, Lisa Jalowetz Aronson Papers.

24. *Ibid.*

25. "The College in a World at War," Black Mountain College Newsletter 17, November 1942.

26. Josef Albers, "Address for the Black Mountain College Meeting at New York, June 12, 1940," Black Mountain College

Papers.II.21.

27. Heinrich Jalowetz, handwritten lecture, Lisa Jalowetz Aronson Papers.

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New Haven, Conn. Yale University Library.
Josef Albers Papers.

Raleigh, North Carolina.

North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources.
Division of Archives and Records.

Black Mountain College Papers and Black Mountain College Collection.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS CITED

Lisa Jalowetz Aronson Papers
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A ROSTER

The list of refugees who taught at Black Mountain College includes faculty and members of their families who tutored and were a part of the community. It does not include summer session teachers or people who taught on a temporary basis at the college. An asterisk indicates that no record of that person has been found since that person left the college.

Anni Fleischmann Albers, weaver, 34 years old. b. 1899, Berlin; d. 1994, Orange, CT. BMC: December 1933-spring 1949; leaves of absence, fall 1940, fall 1946-fall 1947. Free-lance textile designer for industry.

Josef Albers, artist. b. 1888, Bottrop; d. 1976, New Haven, CT. BMC: December 1933-spring 1949; leaves of absence, fall 1940-summer 1942, fall 1946-fall 1947. 1933: Instructor Preliminary Course, Bauhaus, Dessau; _____, Yale University.

Margot Eisenhardt Bergmann, scientist, 34 years old. b. 1913, _____. BMC: fall 1941-summer 1942.

Peter Gabriel Bergmann, physicist, 26 years old. b. 1915, Berlin. BMC: fall 1941-summer 1942. University of Prague, Ph.D. 1936/Professor of Physics, University of Syracuse.

Erwin Bodky, harpsichordist, clavichordist, authority on interpretation of Early Music, 49 years old. b. 1896, Ragnit, East Prussia; d. 1958, Lucerne, Switzerland. BMC: 1945, 1947; summer 1948-summer 1949. Professor, Academy for Church Music and School Music, Berlin; _____, Brandeis University.

Lilli Steinitz Bodky, violinist, years old. b. 1897, Berlin; d. 1971, Watertown, MA. BMC: tutor 49s-49ssd.

Frederic (Fritz) Fritz Cohen, composer and director. b. 1904, Bonn; d. 1967, New York. BMC: fall 1942-summer 1944. Music and Artistic Director, Jooss Ballet/Director, Juilliard Opera Theater.

Frances de Graaff, linguist, 37 years old. b. 1904, Leiden, Holland. BMC: fall 1941-summer 1944

Max Wilhelm Dehn, geometer, 67. b. Hamburg, 1878; d. Black Mountain College, 27 June 1952. BMC: Winter 1945-27 June 1952; fall 1946, fall 1948-summer 1949 (returning for monthly seminars). Professor, University of Frankfurt.

Antonie (Toni) Landau Dehn, bookbinder, 52. b. 1893, Berlin.

Madame Anna Goldowski, . b. Kiev(?), 1879; d. Washington, D.C. area, 1967. BMC:

Natasha Goldowski Renner, chemist, (b. 1907, Moscow; d. 1966, Guadalajara) /Fall 1947-summer 1953; leave of absence summer 1951-summer 1952

***Richard Gothe** (b. 1900, Berlin)/1940-41

Trude Guermonprez (b. 1910, Danzig, East Prussia (G'dánsk, Poland); d. San Francisco, 1976)/summer 1947-spring 1949

Fritz Hansgirg (b. 1891, Graz, Austria; d. New York, 1949)/ fall 1942-summer 1947 (leave of absence fall 1947-summer 1948)

Heinrich Jalowetz (b. 1882, Brünn, Austria (Brno, Czechoslovakia); d. 1946, Black Mountain College)/fall 1939-January 1946 (leave of absence fall 1945)

Johanna Groag Jalowetz (b. 1885, Olomouc, Austria (Czechoslovakia); d. 1966, San Francisco)/fall 1939-1953 summer (leave of absence, 1945f)

Elsa Kahl (b. 1901, Hamburg; d. 1993(?), New York)/fall 1942-summer 1944

Anatole Kopp (b. 1915, St. Petersburg, Russia)/November 1942-spring 1943

Paul Leser (b. 1899, Frankfurt; d. 1984, Hartford)/fall 1949-summer 1951

Edward Lowinsky (b. 1908, Stuttgart; d. Chicago, 1985)/fall 1942-summer 1947 (leave of absence, summer 1943-fall 1943, summer 1946)

Gretel Hoffmann Lowinsky (b. 1920, Kassel)/fall 1942-summer 1947 (leave of absence, summer 1943-fall 1943, summer 1946)

Franziska Mayer (b. 1914, Hamburg)/summer 1946-summer 1947

Anna Moellenhoff (b. 1892, Koblenz; d. 1982, Chicago)/fall 1935-spring 1939

Fritz Moellenhoff (b. 1891, Solingen; d. 1980, Chicago, 1980)/fall 1935-spring 1938 (leave of absence, 1936-37, 38-39)

***Karl Niebyl** (b. 1906)/fall 1946-spring 1947

Alexander (Xanti) Schawinsky (b. 1904, Basel, Switzerland, 1904; d. 1979, Locarno, Switzerland)/fall 1936-spring 1938

Irene von Debschitz Schawinsky (b. 1903, Munich; d. 1990, New York)/fall 1936-spring 1938

Charlotte Schlesinger (b. 1909, Berlin; d. 1976, London)/fall 1946-summer 1949 (leave of absence summer 1947)

***Siegfried Schwartz** (b. 1902)/winter 1945-fall 1945

Erwin Straus (b. 1891, Frankfurt am Main; d. 1975, Lexington)/fall 1938-summer 1944 (leave of absence 1944-46)

Gertrud Lukaschik Straus (b. 1895, Munich; d. 1977, Lexington) (fall 1938-summer 1944)

Willo von Moltke (b. 1911, Kreisau, Germany; d. 1987, Boston)/November-December 1940

Stefan Wolpe (b. 1902, Berlin; d. 1972, New York)/summer 1952-spring 1956

Papa D

by James Shumaker¹

Papa D had a way about him.

He had a way of enveloping people, particularly women and small children, with a feeling of having been cradled in a great warm palm. He had a way of preventing his life from sagging into the stale, static routine so sadly characteristic of many small town merchants, who spend their days shuttling between home and shop with occasional detours to the bank and hardly a thought along the way. He had a way of hurdling awesome obstacles and landing on his feet. And, of course, he had a way of making candy that set your taste buds to pealing like joyous bells.

But confectionery was only his vocation. Edward Gustav Danziger was far more than just a master cook. Probably most striking of all his intriguing traits was his special consciousness of humanity. With astonishing vigor, he immersed himself in and propelled himself through the business of living, neither tainting his own life nor consuming anybody else's. "Chapel Hill's candy kin" was for him faint and superficial praise. He was a community nexus of thinking and feeling, learning and teaching; his mind could be touched, and would touch in return. He was incapable of hoarding himself. People who plugged into Papa D came away recharged.

He could easily have become an embittered, self-pitying man, soured by injustice and infuriated by ill-fortune. His youth can best be described as checkered. His family operated a widely-known candy kitchen in Vienna, but he was expelled from every school he entered. At the age of 13, he was apprenticed to a French confectioner, then fought in the Austrian Army in World War I, was wounded and imprisoned by the Russians, and emerged from the war as one of Austria's most highly-decorated corporals. In 1939 the Nazis exiled him (his grandfather was Jewish) and confiscated everything he had, from his own candy business in Vienna down to his heirloom gold watch. He arrived in this country with \$4.



Edward Danzinger, in his store/Viennese Café on Franklin Street in Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Group photo taken at Danzinger's, Viennese style café in Chapel Hill, North Carolina on February 1, 1950. Seated with Eleanor Roosevelt are a group of students: clockwise from lower right, William Geer, who became Director of Student Aid at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Charles O. Long, Ann Beal (now Ann Beal Sanders), John Sanders, who as a chairman that academic year of the Carolina Forum was instrumental in persuading Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt to come to Chapel Hill as a speaker for the Forum and to give the Gertrude Weill Lectures on American Citizenship. John Sanders became the Director of the Institute of Government at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.



With the help of Quaker friends, he came to Chapel Hill 33 years ago and established a candy and coffee shop, now the Old World Gift Shop. The subsequent proliferation of Danziger enterprises is ample evidence of his business acumen. A family of plodders never could produce such a successful complex of restaurants and bistros.

Business success was a relatively minor aspect of Papa D. Much more important—and much less known—was his function as a communicator, both as a mental relay station between people and as a dynamo for the troubled heart. This was not overly evident during his early days in Chapel Hill, when his temper was more volatile and his manner of running a business was Old World autocratic—he was the boss, therefore he was right, cross him and the world exploded. Back then, he was a talker rather than a listener.

But over the years it became obvious that Papa D was not just a shrewd and colorful Austrian with a marzipan accent and an eye for pretty women, a stooped and kindly grandfather who gave candy to children. He was also a link, between University and townspeople, whose ways of life and interests he helped to integrate, and often between individuals and the rest of the world.

In 1960 he began to change himself in earnest. He enrolled at UNC (he never finished high school) and audited courses in architecture, archaeology, history, whatever interested him—and there wasn't much that didn't.

"It is so good to sit there and hear good talk," he said.

And he kept on changing, principally his concept of himself, which is a painful process, but one which he was astute enough to realize was necessary. He became a true listener. His eyes did not wander when you spoke, he was not poised to thrust his own words into an opening. He learned what young people are all about these days. He sometimes disagreed with their ideas, but he did understand why they did what they did. Students, especially those who could not communicate with their parents or their professors, came to Papa D and opened their heads about drugs, love affairs, politics—he was one of the few Chapel Hill merchants who gracefully and open-heartedly bridged the Franklin Street chasm between town and gown.

To him, this was simply a matter of listening and learning. And it is ironic that when he died he had come full circle, from



Edward Danzinger, Papa D, 1939

a torrential young talker to an attentive listener whom a final, massive stroke had rendered literally incapable of speech.

When he first enrolled at UNC he said, "You know, when you die, you come down to hell, and they say 'Where are you from?' and I will say I am from Chapel Hill, and they will say 'You are from Chapel Hill and you have no degree? Shame on you!' And I will say, 'But I have attended these courses' and it will be all right...I will take some more advanced courses if I have time. I hope I don't die, but if I do, I'm prepared."

He was.

NOTES

1. This essay appeared first as an editorial in The Chapel Hill Weekly, Sunday, May 14 1972 four days after Edward G. Danziger's death on May 10, 1972.

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